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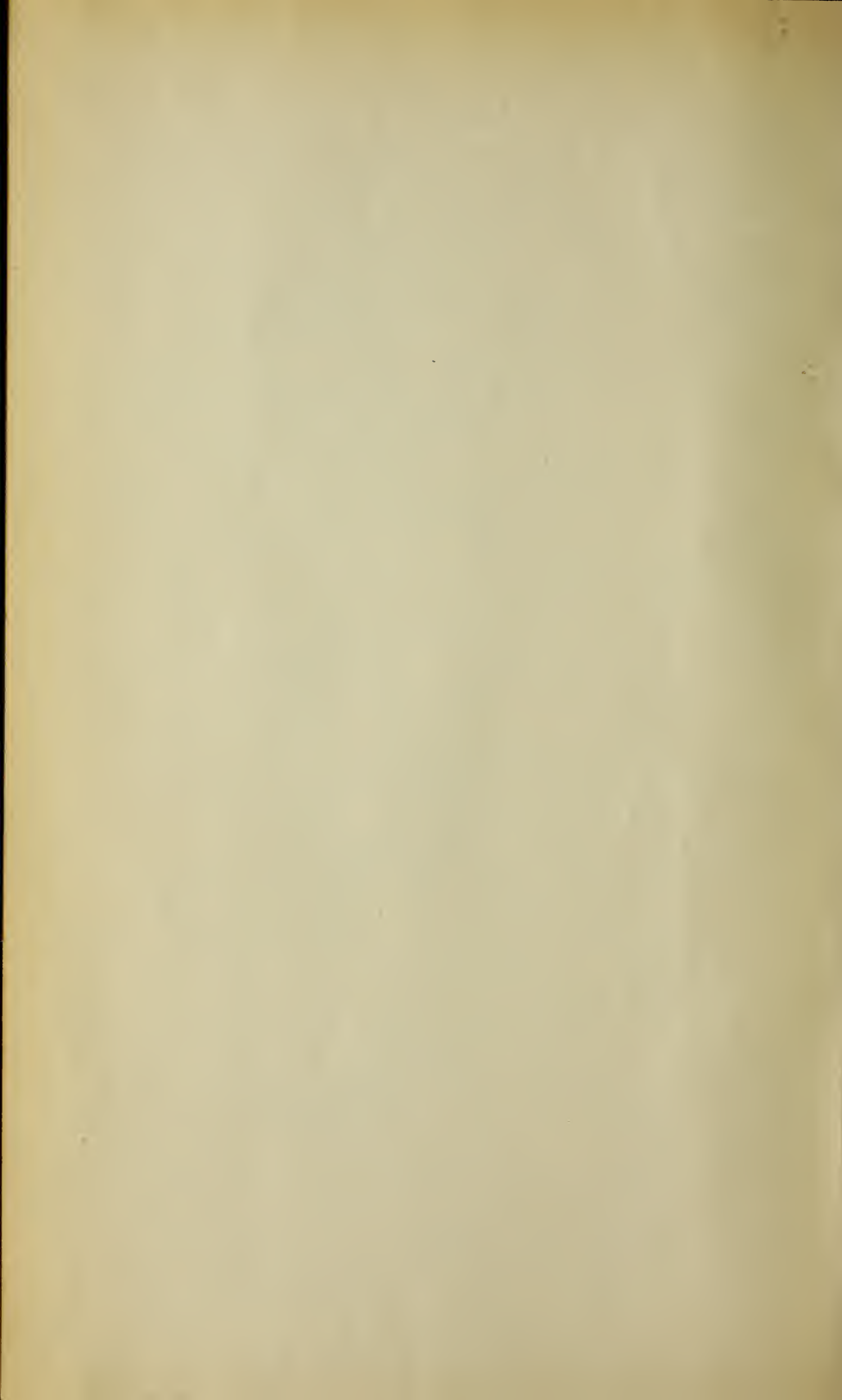
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OLD STAGE-COACH ROUTES IN 1838.

[See page 21.]

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PIONEER LIFE. 687354

BY BENJAMIN S. PARKER.

EARLY MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

The Ruffian Element; Early Fighting and Rude Amusements—Co-operative Tasks and Social Accompaniments; House-raising, Log-rolling, etc.; Pastimes; Pioneer Feasts; Dances and Play-Parties of the Young People—Notes by the Editor.

[This article and others of a similar character to follow are from the manuscript material for a history of Henry county, written by Mr. Benjamin S. Parker, of New Castle. The literature that exists on the early life, manners and customs of the State, while full in certain particulars, is almost silent in others, and Mr. Parker's circumstantial treatment of the subject adds much desirable information.—*Editor.*]

IN the early settlements of Henry county, as elsewhere in the middle west, there was a somewhat numerous representation of the rough border element which hung upon the outer rim of civilization to trap and hunt and, if occasion offered, fight the Indians, and to make the first rude openings in the forests. They drank, caroused, fought among themselves, and made things lively for their more decorous neighbors. Many of these, when not inflamed by drink, were generous, warm-hearted people, as ready to befriend a neighbor as to fight him if offense were given.

Upon this matter of offenses they cherished a number of peculiar notions. They would not take pay from the sojourning stranger for food and lodging, and regarded as an insult the proffering of the same. To refuse a drink of whisky when tendered gave umbrage. Any reflection upon the courage, physical strength, prowess or truthfulness of these men demanded an apology or a fight; and when the bottle was circulating freely among them the causes for offense multiplied in a sort of geometrical ratio. This class was unlettered, careless of apparel, un-

couth of speech, and, when intoxicated, abusive, profane and obscene. They came largely from the mountain regions of Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia, though their number was recruited from regions other than those mentioned.

In their hostile relations with each other they recognized an unwritten code of honor which generally governed their fights, and which was somewhat as follows: All fights must be "fit fa'rly," no man to use any kind of weapon nor take "unfa'r holts," and the fight must cease when one of the combatants cried "nuff." After the contest the parties were expected to shake hands, drink together and be friends. The man who disregarded the "nuff" of his beaten foe and sought to inflict further punishment, and he who transgressed the code by using a knife or other weapon was disgraced in the eyes of his fellows. As the "code" permitted striking, gouging, biting, hair-pulling, scratching, kicking and even stamping upon a fallen victim, it allowed sufficient latitude for all reasonable belligerents. The militia musters, elections, public sales, shooting-matches, and Saturday afternoons in the towns or at the cross-roads "grocery" or "coffee-house," as the drinking places were called, were the principal scenes of these passages at arms. On such occasions many a fellow who was ambitious of pugilistic renown was sent home to his family in a sadly undone condition to be nursed back to a semblance of his former self by his sympathetic wife. With the bellicose disposition as a basis, there was no lack of entrances into a quarrel and the wished-for fight. Differences of opinion were not even necessary. Neat clothing, correct speech and a gentlemanly bearing were often a sufficient provocation to the bully who had a distaste for these effeminacies, and lacking these he could, without departing too widely from recognized custom, "renown it" by drawing a circle about himself with a stick and defying anyone to enter the space thus appropriated; or sometimes, after loading up with whisky, he essayed to terrorize a town, profanely swearing he could "whup" the best man or all the men in it, till some one accommodated him. The writer was once told of a debt that, by the agreement of both parties, was settled by the approved fisticuffs of the day. One dunned another for a dollar, and the debt was disclaimed. It was proposed to fight it out, the defeated fighter to lose or

pay the money besides standing treat. The outcome was that the discomfited creditor had to forfeit his dollar and pay additional money for whisky, besides proffering the friendly hand with as much grace as he could command.

These "disturbers of the peace and dignity of the State" were, theoretically at least, amenable to the law, and their fines went to the county seminary fund. The late Judge D. D. Banta tells of one bully who used to boast that he upheld one corner of the Johnson county seminary, at Franklin.

These frontier fighters, as a rule, would sell out their lands and move elsewhere as the country about them became more thickly settled and their freedom was restricted. Not infrequently, however, enough remained to prove under other conditions that their aggressive qualities were a source of strength and capable citizenship.

The Saturday afternoon gatherings at the villages and cross-roads stores, above alluded to, were a popular feature with the early settlers of the male division and of a certain class, who there sought diversion from the toils at home. The social enjoyment of these occasions was augmented by shooting-matches, "goose-pullings," horse-racing and similar trials of skill, speed or endurance. Into most of these practices the gambling spirit entered. An incentive to the shooting-match was the possibility of winning various articles which were put up at so much a chance. These prizes were various, but usually consisted of venison, beef, corn-meal or other provisions. The mark to be shot at was, ordinarily, a board or the smooth surface of a tree boll marked with a bull's eye surrounded by two or three circles. The marksman who averaged nearest center in a given number of shots was the winner (1). These contests borrowed zest from the expertness of the average frontiersman with the rifle, and his pride in that accomplishment. With some, indeed, this expertness continued to a later day, if an anecdote that I have heard is to be credited. A Henry county volunteer in an eastern Indiana regiment during the Civil War applied for place in a squad of sharp-shooters that was being organized in the camp. He claimed some experience with the old-fashioned squirrel rifle. "Where did you have the experience, what did you shoot at,

and about what was your average success?" he was asked. "Well," was the careless response, "I hunted turkeys on Blue river in Henry county, Indiana. I can't tell how it averaged, but my wife always used to be about two weeks behind with her pickin'."

Perhaps the rudest of the early sports was "goose-pulling." A goose or gander with its neck well greased or soaped was nailed through its webbed feet or otherwise fastened to the top of a post or the stump of a small tree at the proper height for a horseman to reach as he raced by on the full run. Dexterity to grasp the head of the fowl in passing and grip to tear it from the live and struggling body were the requirements of the prize-winner (2).

The pioneer horse-races, upon which some money and the skins of raccoons and other fur-bearing "varmints" changed hands, and out of which many quarrels arose to be settled according to the backwoods code, were little more than reckless gallops along the stumpy roads or about the partially cleared fields, there being much more prospect of broken limbs than of speed. There were few speed horses in Henry county prior to 1850.

A majority of the settlers, however, were not to be classed with this ruder and more boisterous element just described. Practical and industrious, they made even their recreations fit in with the accomplishment of their tasks, and house-raisings, log-rollings, wood-choppings, sawings, corn-huskings, hog-killings, wool-pickings, quiltings, apple-parings, rag-cuttings, carpet-tackings and even chicken-pickings were often converted into festive occasions by sociable cooperation. While all such gatherings for work entailed much hard, even excessive work, there was generally an abundance of fun and active enjoyment connected with them, even if a strict religious sentiment tabooed the frolics or play-games of the young people or the fiddle and dance after the work. The log-rollings and sawings gave rise to many races, the company being divided into two gangs or sections. In the case of the rollings the ground was apportioned so as to give each gang the same amount of work, and each side chose an experienced man to direct its movements. The contest, when begun, never flagged until the last log was placed

upon the heap, the section finishing first being the winners. In handling the logs there was great individual emulation and many tests of strength, particularly between the ambitious young men; which test consisted in putting a handspike under the end of a heavy log with a man at either end and proving which could pull the other down. At these and similar gatherings, after the day's work it was customary to indulge in various athletic sports, such as foot-races, wrestling-matches, "leap-frog," "tug-of-war," "crack-the-whip," "lap-jacket" and jumping, with or without the use of the pole. Pitching quoits and horseshoes were also favorite pastimes. The quoit was usually a boulder or flat stone of from twenty to sixty or more pounds in weight, which was thrown from the shoulder, the "pitcher" or "thrower" toeing a mark. The pitching of horseshoes is still so common as to be familiar to all.

A common diversion with the men and boys at corn-huskings was to sit close together in a circle on the ground or floor, with their knees drawn up so as to form a space or continuous tunnel beneath. A small roll of some kind was then started and passed invisibly from hand to hand through the space beneath the knees, this performance being accompanied with the cry of "Brogue it about! Brogue it about!" and other confusing noises and talk. One person within the circle sought to locate and capture the flying roll in the hands of some one who should exchange places with him. It was a lively game, full of fun and go, and often when the confused and eager man in the ring pounced upon some one, thinking he had the roll, another from the rear would deal him a sounding blow with it, then send it "brogueing" on. The writer never heard any name for the game other than "brogue it about!" which probably was equivalent to "move it about!" It evidently was but a more vigorous form of "seek the thimble," a children's game much in vogue, in which a thimble, passing from hand to hand, was hidden from the seeker.

A notable feature of the neighborhood gatherings was the bounteous feasting that accompanied the toil. The customary daily meals and, sometimes, lunches between, regaled the never-failing appetites engendered by long hours of hard labor in the open air. With abundant game, fish, wild fruit and the prod-

ucts of the gardens and fields to draw upon, and with plenty of skilled and willing feminine hands to prepare the same, there was no lack of cheer. Venison, roast turkey, fried chicken, hominy, ham and eggs, potatoes, roast pig, wild honey, steaming cornbread or sweet pone, with hot biscuit for dainty folk, old-fashioned gingerbread with crab-apple preserves, jellies, tarts and pies, and plenty of good milk and butter, make a partial list of the good things at the command of the pioneer housewife when she wished to make a spread, and the neighbor-guests commanded the best to be had.

The incidental social life above described did not, however, fulfill the requirements of the young unmarried folks among the pioneers. With them the social features, although they might be prefaced by a day's or half-day's work, were the prime incentive. There must always be some excuse of necessary toil to justify the gathering, but the husking, the wood-chopping or the quilting-bee was followed in the evening not only by a supper but by a frolic of some kind. In the new villages the dance and the masquerade were most in vogue, although the games and play-parties were also popular there as they were in the country. At first the dances were quadrilles and jigs, but in a few years the round dances—waltzes, schottishes, polkas, mazurkas, etc.—were introduced. Ben Custer, of blessed memory, was teaching them to the boys and girls of Henry county fifty or sixty years ago. But the prevalence of the drink habit and the ill repute that whisky and disturbances gave to these dances caused the ministers and churches to make war upon them, and to a large extent they became exiled from the better country neighborhoods.

In the country the forfeit plays and the marching plays accompanied by songs were the chief amusements. "Keeping post-office," "building the bridge," "picking cherries," and numerous others were "forfeit" games. Of the marching plays may be mentioned "We're marching down to old Quebec," "I suppose you've heard of late of George Washington the Great," "Come Philander, let's be a-marching," "Sailing on the boat when the tide runs high," "King William was King James's son," "We are marching in to the Ivory Ol," "Charley Cole," "Old Dusty Miller," "Jersies Blue, to you I call," and "Oh! Sister

Phoebe, how merry were we the night we sat under the juniper tree," not to mention at least fifty more that were high in favor with backwoods beau and rustic belle. They were sung as the players marched, often with little regard to tune or time, but with an interest and energy that seldom flagged. They usually wound up with kissing songs, such as:

"Down on this carpet you must kneel,
And kiss your true love in the field;
Kiss her now and kiss her then
And kiss her when you meet again."

Or, two persons of opposite sex would join hands around a young man, and, holding their arms up so that his partner must pass under them, sing:

"Come under, come under,
My honey, my love,
My heart's above,
My heart's gone a weeping below Galilee," etc.,

Finishing with an assurance that the gentle swain who awaits her coming will "neither hang her nor drown her," but gently kiss her sweet lips, or words to that effect. The number and variety of these kissing-songs were as great as of the marching songs, which seemed, many of them, to come down through centuries of frolic and fun, and yet ever bearing an undertone of sorrow and affliction that wars and parting bring to the young. Though the miscellaneous touchings of the lips that these old marching plays required were considerable, they were far outrivaled in this respect by the forfeit plays in which the forfeits were all kisses. Besides the afore-mentioned plays, there were such lively exercises as "drop the handkerchief," "the hindmost of three," and "hiding the thimble." There were a good many guessing games, among them "grunt," in which one of the players, blindfolded, guessed at the identity of the others from a grunt uttered by them, usually in a disguised voice.

The charade came in later, perhaps, and still lingers, along with "Old Dusty Miller" as survivals of the plays and games of early times. There were also many letter- and word-games, as, "Ship's come to town!" the response being, "What's it loaded with?" to be answered with the name of an article beginning

with the letter then being used, as, apes, apricots, anarchists, etc., this being continued till the vocabulary of the players was taxed to the utmost. Others were "bobbing the apple," "pussy wants a corner," and "going to market." In the latter game each person in a circle was given the name of some part of the wagon or harness, such as wheel, tongue, hames, etc. A story by one was reeled off about "going to market," in which the impromptu *reconteur* alluded as he saw fit to wheel, tongue, hames, or the other parts, and the players bearing those names were, whenever they were mentioned, to rise up on the instant, turn around and sit down again. If, caught unaware, one failed to do this, he had to pay a forfeit. "Sociability," "weev'ly wheat," and "four hands 'round" were compromise dances that were indulged in when dancing, so-called, was forbidden.

One amusement brought into Henry county from the South a good many years before the Civil War was the dancing picnic or *Fete Champetre*, to which the people came with their basket dinners for the purpose of a day's social converse and enjoyment heightened by their favorite exercise. Sometimes the dance was held in a new barn or upon a green lawn, but the usual way was to clear off a circular piece of ground in some beautiful grove, cover it over with clean, new sawdust, and arrange the seats about it with a platform at one side for the musicians. Those who danced "paid the fiddler," but all who chose to come were made welcome. This form of amusement was very popular in southern Henry, Rush, Fayette and southwestern Wayne counties.

EDITORIAL NOTES. 1. The best description known to us of the old-time shooting-match is in Baynard R. Hall's "New Purchase" (ed. 1855, pp. 105-112). The prize on the occasion described was a barrel of whisky; the distances stepped off and marked, eighty-five yards off-hand and one hundred yards with rest. The rests were various, some of the marksmen driving forked stakes in the ground and placing on these a horizontal piece, some using a common chair, some lying flat with a chunk or stone before them for a support and yet others standing beside a tree with the barrel near its muzzle pressed against the

boll. For targets each man had a shingle carefully prepared with, first, a charcoal-blackened space, and on this for a ground a piece of white paper about an inch square. From the center of the paper was cut a small diamond-shaped hole, which, of course, showed black, and two diagonal lines from the corners of this intersected each other at the center of the diamond, thus fixing the exact center of the target. About this point, with a radius of four inches, a circle was drawn, and any shots striking outside of this circle lost the match to the marksman. Each contestant had three shots, and if all struck within the circle and outside of exact center the measurement was taken from the center to the inner edges of the different bullet holes. The distances added together made the shooters "string," and the shortest string won the prize. This was called "line" shooting. On rare occasions accidents happened at these shooting-matches. Hall tells of two. It was the custom for the score-keeper to conceal himself behind the tree on which the target was fixed. On one occasion a rifle hung fire, and the scoresman peeped inquiringly from the tree just in time to catch the belated bullet. Another time the tree, unbeknown to the shooters, was hollow, and the bullet passing through the shell pierced the man on the other side. Another story of Hall's tells how a boastful young marksman was chagrined by an old hunter who on a wager "bewitched" his rifle by passing his hand along the barrel and over the muzzle with an incantation, so that the shooter missed the whole tree. The art of witching consisted in deftly depositing in the mouth of the gun a small bullet, which sent its own bullet awry.

2. Gander-pulling as practiced in the Tennessee mountains is graphically described by George Egbert Craddock in one of her novels. We find little mention of it as a custom in Indiana, and do not believe that it was very common here.

3. Of the games mentioned by Mr. Parker, "forfeits," "grunt," "ship's come to town," "going to market," "drop the handkerchief," "pussy wants a corner," and "weev'ly wheat" are well known at the present day, the three last-named, especially, being common among children's amusements. The old marching games are dying out and are now to be found only in the more remote country districts. A collection of the plays, giving

steps, songs and music, and a study of their origin, before it is too late, is a thing much to be desired. In the boyhood days of the editor they still survived in Franklin township, Marion county, and he remembers some that may be added to Mr. Parker's list. Our recollection is that all or nearly all of them had in them the elements of the dance—rhythm of step and music—and that they were usually adopted where the religious sentiment of the neighborhood frowned upon dancing. The added feature of miscellaneous kissing was so invariably a part of the games that these parties were familiarly and vulgarly known as "gum-sucks." Many of the songs in air and measure were so similar that one readily glided into another. The accompanying steps and figures were, not infrequently, similar to the quadrille, or else a marching step with simple evolutions. The words had a primitive folk-lore quality, sense and relevance being quite secondary to rhythm, as a few specimens we remember will illustrate. One of these was:

"Just from Shiloh, skiptumaloo,
Just from Shiloh, skiptumaloo,
Just from Shiloh, skiptumaloo,
Skiptumaloo, my darling!"

Another, with a slight altering of the tune, ran:

"Keep one window tidy oh,
Keep two windows tidy oh,
Keep three windows tidy oh,
Jingle at the window tidy oh!
Jingle at the window tidy oh!"

Our recollection of the above is that they were dances rather than marches. In another the players formed two parallel lines facing each other. A girl, followed by a boy, marched up between the lines, and at the end they returned, she behind the line of girls, he behind the boys. This was repeated, the pace increasing as the song grew faster, the girl's object being to reach the lower end first and evade her partner, who, when he caught her, was entitled to a kiss. The accompanying song was:

"Chase the squirrel, if you please,
Chase the squirrel, if you please,
Chase the squirrel, if you please,
And catch your love so handy.

"A little faster, if you please,
A little faster, if you please,
A little faster, if you please,
And catch your love so handy."

The song waxed "a little faster" each time, until the consummation. Another, into which the preceding could easily glide, was:

"Oh, yonder comes my sweetheart, and how do you do?
And how have you been since I last saw you?
The war is all over, and peace is in the land;
Can't you wish us joy by the raising of your hands?"

The two lines of players, at the last, raised their clasped hands so as to form an arch under which the united couple passed to take their places at the upper end. Another we remember, which, little else than a Virginia reel with a vocal accompaniment, ran:

"Do ce do, to your best liking,
Do ce do, to your best liking,
Do ce do, to your best liking,
And swing your love so handy!"

It is somewhat remarkable that in our many local histories there is little or no mention of these games that have been so prominent in the early social life of the State, and, as suggested above, there is an unworked field here for the student of early customs.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT IN INDIANA.

NO. I—THE FIRST THOROUGHFARES.

The Indian Trails—Pioneer Traces—The First Road System; Legislation of 1820; Road Building in that Decade; Wretched Character of the Highways and Difficulties of Early Travel.

[This article on Early Thoroughfares, originally prepared for State Geologist, W. S. Blatchley, to form a chapter in the thirtieth annual geological report, is here reprinted as the first of a series that will deal with the principal internal improvement works that have developed within the State. The plan, as at present conceived, will take up besides this theme, road improvements, canals and railroads.—*Editor.*]

THE first thoroughfares of Indiana, while somewhat remote, perhaps, from present interests, have yet some relation to the after history of the State, besides possessing a certain historic interest of their own. Of these primitive ways for travel and transportation the earliest, long antedating the white man's advent, were the Indian trails—narrow, winding routes beaten by many feet traveling in single file, and akin to the paths made by animals. It should be noted, however, that there was one radical distinction between them and the animal paths, for while the latter had the feeding grounds for their termini, the former, primarily, conducted from abiding place to abiding place. In other words, the human propensity for intercommunication as distinguished from mere gregariousness was revealed by those obscure forest highways, and by virtue of that they were something other than mere random ways—they were a system.

If this system could be restored in a chart we would be surprised, no doubt, to find what a network it formed, reaching over the country in various directions. No such restoration would be possible now, however, for, though there are many allusions to them in our local histories, what information we have about these old trails is scattered, meager and indefinite. About all we know is that the various tribes and bands of Indians occupied each their own territory, usually along the valleys of the principal rivers, and that they visited to and fro more or less for the purposes of counsel or other reasons. Between the tribes of this

region little hostility is recorded, and there seems to have been considerable friendly intercourse and formal visiting among them. Following the rivers from town to town, and across from valley to valley, their paths can be traced. It is likely that the Miami town of Ke-ki-on-ga, where Ft. Wayne now stands, was, from its important command of the Wabash portage, the converging point of many trails, for Little Turtle, in his speech before Anthony Wayne at the treaty of Greenville, refers to the place as "that glorious gate through which all the good words of our chiefs had to pass, from the north to the south, and from the east to the west."

At the junction of Fall creek and White river, also, several paths seem to have met, by reason, it is said, of a good ford across the river that existed there. Such at least has been affirmed by the late J. H. B. Nowland, a very early pioneer of Indianapolis, who has told the writer definitely of several trails—one from Vincennes, one from the falls of the Ohio, one from the Whitewater, and others from the upper Delaware towns on White river and the Pottawattamie and Miami towns on the Wabash, all of which converged at this point. The one westward from the Whitewater valley ran about where the Pennsylvania railroad now has its right-of-way and that from the Ohio falls paralleled the present Jeffersonville railroad. The latter route was, seemingly, traveled by all the Pottawattamies, Miamis and Delawares of the upper Wabash and White rivers in their excursions to the Kentucky hunting grounds, as, after crossing the above-mentioned ford, it sent off branches to the towns of those tribes.

The Indian pathmaker not infrequently marked the way for the white man's thoroughfares, and his work was thus perpetuated in the civilization of his successors. Out of his thorough knowledge of the topography of the country he found out the best routes, not only for his kind of traveling, but for the kind of traveling that was to come after. When James Blake and William Conner viewed, as commissioners, the first road between Indianapolis and Ft. Wayne, they found after leaving White river that they could not improve upon the judgment of the Indians as shown in their old trace.

One of the earliest wagon-ways out of Indianapolis, the old Centerville road, which led to Wayne county before the coming of the National Road, was laid out on the Whitewater trail above referred to, just south of the Pennsylvania tracks, and mention may be found here and there of other roads that were similarly determined. Moreover, the earliest pioneers were benefited directly by these aboriginal trails, for not only did they first follow them from one place to another through the otherwise trackless wilderness in search of desirable regions, but their rude "traces" for subsequent ingress and egress were frequently but their improvement on the red man's too-narrow footpath. Perhaps it is not venturing too much to say that they were at times an influence in the locating of white settlements. For instance, the first settlers on the spot where Indianapolis now stands were, if tradition is to be trusted, led hither by the Whitewater trail. When the commissioners appointed by the legislature came to locate the capital, the presence of the squatters at the mouth of Fall creek was undoubtedly a factor in determining the choice of that spot; and so it might not be considering too curiously to reason out a relation between this obscure path through the forest primeval and the exact locating of the State's capital with all that that implies.

Before anything like permanent roads could be established a considerable population of settlers had taken up lands in the interior of the State, and there had to be makeshift thoroughfares not only for guidance to various localities, but for the transportation of the immigrant's possessions. These traces, as they were called, were the rudest of forest roads, cleared away sufficiently to permit the passage of the mover's wagons, and marked along the route by "blazing" or marking the trees with an axe.* These traces from east and south, with their various branches leading to this or that settlement, were well known to the immigrants in their day, but, like the Indian trails, they are long since obliterated, and, for the most part, only vague allusions to them are to be found in local histories. Of at least two of them, however, some record has been preserved, and these are of special interest because they were the trunk lines, so to speak, over

*A road running southward from Indianapolis, called to the present day the "Three Notch Road," took its name from the three distinguishing ax marks.

which the first waves of immigration found their way in to people the central portion of the State. They were known respectively as the Berry and Whetzel traces.

The Berry trace, marked out by a Captain John Berry, or, as Judge Banta gives it, Richard Berry, joined and followed the Ohio Falls Indian trail above mentioned, which crossed White river at Fall creek. It was the chief line of travel from the south. The best account of this route is given by Mr. Nowland in describing the journey of his family to Indianapolis from Kentucky in 1820. According to him it began at Napoleon, Ripley county (south of that being settled country), and thence ran almost west to a point on Flatrock river about nine miles north of where Columbus now stands. At the end of this stage of perhaps thirty miles stood the first house after leaving Napoleon. Then the trace turned north to follow the said Indian trail, and this, with two or three more cabins on the way, brought them to the embryo capital. Further information concerning the pioneer whose name has been perpetuated by his old trace the present writer has been unable to glean.

What was known as the Whetzel trace was made in 1818 by Jacob Whetzel, one of the four brothers famous in the annals of Indian warfare. It afforded ingress from the already settled Whitewater region on the east, and is also described by Mr. Nowland. It began, he tells us, in Franklin county, somewhere near where Laurel now stands, ran west till it struck the Flatrock river seven miles below the site of Rushville, thence to the Blue river where Marion and Shelby counties join, thence west to the bluffs of White river. This was the most notable of all these early traces, for by it, we are told, hundreds of immigrants came to settle Shelby, Morgan, Johnson and Marion counties. Those bound for the new capital followed it till it reached the Berry trace, then turned north on the latter, and many of the first families of Indianapolis were beholden to the sturdy old Indian fighter for his unrequited service, which, indeed, he had performed at no small cost to himself. He and his son Cyrus, with the help of four good axemen, cleared the way for "a width sufficient to admit the passage of a team," as Judge Banta tells us, through vast stretches of tangled forest and swamp lands where of nights they had to build up brush piles to sleep on.

In 1825 a petition, presented to the legislature by William Conner in behalf of Jacob Whetzel, prayed compensation for the cutting of this road, the eastern terminus being there designated as "Summerset." Said petition, along with various others, was referred to a committee on roads, which reported back that, "in the opinion of the committee, it would be inexpedient to legislate on any of the aforesaid petitions." (See House Journal, 1825, pp. 89 and 170.)

At the intersection of the Whetzel and Berry traces (about two miles southwest of Greenwood, in Johnson county), a man named Daniel Loper "squatted" and offered entertainment, after a fashion, to incoming travelers. Before long, however, a fellow named Nathan Bell ousted Loper by falsely representing himself as the legal purchaser of the land, and next took possession of the desirable point, where for a good while he kept a disreputable sort of a place, surrounded by "his clan of adherents, generally bold, bad men," the history of which place and clan would, according to Judge Franklin Hardin, a reminiscence of Johnson county, "make a large volume." Loper moved along the trace some miles farther east, and, still bent on "entertaining," pitched his shanty on Hurricane creek, where was the first good water and the first good camping place after coming out of the swamps. He stayed there a couple of years, then went none know whither, but his pole cabin, long known as Loper's, continued to be a favorite halting place for incoming travelers, the dilapidated hut being facetiously dubbed the "Emigrant's Hotel." Judge Hardin describes the place as several acres trodden over by men and animals, with many inclosures of poles and brush put up by sojourners to keep their stock from wandering.

By 1826 Whetzel's trace was no longer used, at least at the west end, being impeded with fallen trees. By this time, too, many State roads were being opened into the interior, and the need for the first traces ceased to exist. Not having a legalized right-of-way it was in time, of course, taken up by private owners as the land was entered, and so long since lost the last evidence of its identity.

It was not until four years after Indiana had been admitted as a State that any definite system of roads was projected within her

borders. Prior to that general laws had been framed touching the opening of highways, for with the first tides of immigration, of course, came the question of intercommunication; but they provided only for the opening of local roads on petition. In those first years there was little pressing need for other than local roads, for Indiana was, for the most part, strung along the Ohio and Wabash rivers, which were the generally used, natural highways. Versailles, Vernon and Brownstown, but a few miles back from the Ohio, were, until 1820, on the extreme frontier, the vast country on the north and west of them being an unbroken wilderness, and the principal centers were contiguous to one or the other of the two rivers named.

In 1820, however, there arose new reasons for extensive road-making. The great tract known as the "New Purchase," comprising all the central portion of the State and as far north as the upper Wabash, was thrown open to settlers in that year. Somewhere in the heart of this territory the seat of government was to be located at once and it was obvious that the capital and the settlers who would people the newly acquired tract must have some way of reaching the older parts of the country and the world's markets. This would seem to be the rational explanation of the sudden legislation on State roads that appears in the statutes at this time. In 1820 not less than twenty-six roads were projected, and as many sets of commissioners appointed to view the lands and mark out the routes. The roads not only connected the older towns of the State, but extended into the interior. Five were to lead to the proposed capital, and one was from Lawrenceburg to Winchester, this latter being by a subsequent act extended to Fort Wayne. During the next ten years there was repeated and lengthy legislature on this subject of State roads, showing the paramount importance of highways in the early days of the new commonwealth. Many other roads were added to the original system, some were relocated, and there were various modifications. In the main, however, the first ideas were carried out, and on a road map of 1835, now existing, at least two-thirds of the State is pretty well criss-crossed with highways other than the local or country roads.

The revenue and labor for the opening and maintaining of these roads were derived from three distinct sources. The first was known as the three per cent. fund, and was a donation from

the general government. Out of the sale of public lands five per cent. was set aside for purposes of internal improvement. Of this, two per cent. was to be expended by the United States on works of general benefit—such, for example, as the National Road—and the remaining three per cent. was given to the State for improvements within her borders. Into this fund there was paid, altogether, the sum of \$575,547.75.* A special agent was appointed for disbursing the fund, and his duties were defined at length.

Another internal revenue was derived from a "road tax" levied upon real estate. Farm lands were assessed "an amount equal to half the amount of State tax," and town lots "an amount equal to half the county tax." Non-resident land-owners were assessed an amount equal to both half the State and half the county tax. Such road tax the land-owner was entitled to discharge in work on the roads (see Acts of 1825).

The third source of maintenance was a labor requirement, which made it incumbent on all male inhabitants between the ages of twenty-one and fifty, except preachers and certain other exempts, to work on the roads two days in each year, when called out, or pay an equivalent thereof. In the New Purchase, where the labor necessary was still greater than farther south, the demand was for four days each year, but this provision was repealed in 1827.

But establishing roads by legislative enactment was only a first and very inadequate step toward easy travel and transportation. Moreover, it was not altogether a satisfactory first step, for then, as now, there was much log-rolling, self-seeking and lack of economy in public works, and in Governor Ray's message of 1825 the question was raised as to whether the large expenditures "have answered the expectations of the public"—whether they had not been used extravagantly in the employment of too many commissioners, in the opening of useless roads, and in suffering roads to become useless by a second growth and the failure to keep in repair. Aside from this, after the highways were cut out and the labor of the population expended upon them, they were hardly more practicable than the drift-choked streams which were fondly regarded as navigable.

Of the atrocious character of those early highways much has

*Elbert Jay Benton, in "The Wabash Trade Route," p. 41.

been said, and yet the subject, seemingly, has never been given justice. From the hills of the southern counties to the prairies beyond the Wabash, the State was, for the most part, a level plain covered with a forest that shut out the sun from the rank mold, and this, like a sponge, held the accumulated waters. Vast areas were nothing but swamps, which the streams never fully drained.* Most of the year a journey over the roads was simply a slow, laborious wallowing through mud; the bogs were passable only by the use of "corduroy," and this corduroy of poles laid side by side for miles not infrequently had to be weighted down with dirt to prevent floating off when the swamp waters rose. In a book called "The New Purchase," which purports to depict life in central Indiana in the early twenties, the wagon trip to Bloomington is described in the author's peculiar, half-intelligible style. He speaks of the country as "buttermilk land," "mash land," "rooty and snaggy land," with mudholes and quicksands and corduroys, "woven single and double twill," and there are fords with and without bottom." In the early spring, he says, the streams were brim full, "creeks turned to rivers, rivers to lakes, and lakes to bigger ones, and traveling by land becomes traveling by mud and water." As one proceeded he must tack to right and left, not to find the road, but to get out of it and find places where the mud was "thick enough to bear." The way was a "most ill-looking, dark-colored morass, enlivened by streams of purer mud (the roads) crossing at right angles," and these streams were "thick-set with stumps cut just low enough for wagons to straddle." Innumerable stubs of saplings, sharpened like spears by being shorn off obliquely, waited to impale the unlucky traveler who might be pitched out upon them, and the probability of such accident was considerable as the lumbering wagon plunged over a succession of ruts and roots, describing an "exhilarating seesaw with the most astonishing alternation of plunge, creak and splash." Ever and anon the brimming streams had to be cross-

*Mr. William Butler, a pioneer of Southern Indiana, has told the present writer of a trip he made to Indianapolis in the thirties. He stopped over night with a settler in Johnson county, and, inquiring as to the country east of them, was told that there was no other residence in that direction for thirty miles. "And what's more, there never will be," the informant added, his reason being that the submerged land was irreclaimable. It may be remarked, incidentally, that the swamp in question has long ago been converted into fine farms.

ed, sometimes by unsafe fording and sometimes by rude ferries. In the latter case the ferry-keeper was apt to be off at work somewhere in his clearing, and the traveler had to "halloo the ferry" till he could make himself heard.

This seemingly exaggerated account of the author might be confirmed by many references, but three or four brief anecdotes which the writer has gleaned at first hand from pioneers will do. The first of these, told by the late J. H. B. Nowland, of Indianapolis, is that once, when on his way by stage from Madison to Indianapolis, he was upset in the middle of a swollen stream, and in the effort to save his life he lost his coat, which, with thirty or forty dollars in the pocket, was swept away. Another is that of Mr. George W. Julian, who, when a child, traveled by wagon from the Wea plains on the Wabash to Wayne county. Crossing a stream, the water proved unexpectedly deep and the bank so precipitous that the horses lost their footing and were forced entirely under the flood by the descending wagon. Similar to this was an experience of Mr. William Shimer, of Irvington. When his family moved to Marion county they entered a stream by a descent so steep that a great feather-bed stowed in the front of the wagon rolled out and covered the driver. Mr. Nowland also relates in his book of reminiscences that a migratory wag once wrote these lines in the register-book of a Franklin tavern:

"The roads are impassable—hardly jackassable;
I think those that travel 'em should turn out and gravel 'em.

Such were the early thoroughfares of Indiana, and these, with the exception of an uncertain outlet by the larger streams, were the only means of travel and transportation for the greater part of the State with its growing population. That the character of the thoroughfares impeded growth, handicapped commerce and held in check the influences that are essential to development is very obvious to the student of that development within our borders. The difficulties that were overcome and the building up of the commonwealth in spite of such handicap is an evidence of the sturdiness of the stock that peopled the State.

GEO. S. COTTMAN.

[Next number, the *National and Michigan Roads, and Road Improvements.*]

OLD STAGE-COACH DAYS.

BY E. I. LEWIS.

AT Centerville, a few years ago, two small books were unearthed in a collection of old relics dating back to the halcyon days when Centerville was the center of a stage universe. Both were copies of "Indiana Delineated and Stage Guide for Travelers to the West." The first edition dated back to 1838, prior to the canal days. In the later edition—1847—the canal routes were added to those covered by stage. The old stage maps tell an interesting story of the decline of great traffic centers. Many of the most prominent, such as Merom, Napoleon, Montezuma, Fredonia, Strawtown, Michigantown, Northfield and Putnamville have almost completely been forgotten, while some of the most important centers of travel, such as Salem, Paoli, Jasper, Brookville, Liberty, Burlington and Laketon, have declined in transportation importance, while they have increased in population.

In the old Indiana stage days Philadelphia, instead of New York, was the center of the Eastern world, and the guide books gave information and advice to prospective tourists as to how they should proceed. In 1838 stage travelers were advised to go from Philadelphia to Harrisburg by railroad and canal; or to Harrisburg entirely by railroad; from Harrisburg by Juniata river to Hollidaysburg; by canal and the Allegany river to Pittsburg, and thence down the Ohio river. To travelers from New York and New England was recommended a route to Albany by water, and from Whitesboro to Buffalo by canal; from Buffalo to Cleveland by boat, thence to Portsmouth by the Ohio canal and down the river to Cincinnati or Indiana landings. If bound for northern Indiana they were advised to proceed to Toledo from Buffalo and thence by the newly-constructed canal to the Indiana line and enter via Ft. Wayne.

The time that would probably be consumed by these trips is not given. The all-stage routes, not advised when the traveler was heavily incumbered with baggage or household effects, carried the travelers across Ohio, and in the guide of 1847, is-

sued after the old National Road was opened through, it was the route favored. It and its connections ran from Washington to Hagerstown, Wheeling and Columbus, to Indianapolis, via Terre Haute and Vandalia to St. Louis, and thence with connections to Gallatin, Ft. Leavenworth and the West, a distance of 1,112 miles.

Indianapolis was the State's stage center and the following advertisement of the old stage-coach days is interesting:

"STAGE LINE FROM INDIANAPOLIS TO CRAWFORDSVILLE AND DANVILLE, ILL., THREE TIMES A WEEK.

"Coaches leave Indianapolis every Monday, Wednesday and Friday morning, at 9 o'clock, and arrive at Danville next day, at 5 o'clock p. m., where travelers proceed without delay to Peoria, Ill., and Bloomington, Ia.,* in regular post coaches. At Crawfordsville this line intersects a line of coaches to Lafayette, Ia., where they arrive at 11 a. m., the next day. Connection can be made by the route for Chicago and Wisconsin points and for South Bend, northern Indiana points and Michigan. The distance by the direct line, from Indianapolis to Peoria, is 217 miles, which is traveled in four days without any night traveling, in good coaches, with steady, moral and careful drivers and the best of horses."

The average cost for stage-coach travel, for the entire State, was a little less than 5 cents a mile. The rate of travel in good weather and favorable roads was seven to eight miles an hour. Most of the stages were operated on the plan indicated by the advertisement of the Indianapolis, Crawfordsville and Danville road, with stops for night, and an average of fifty-five to sixty miles a day. On the National Road, however, the stages did not stop for night, and would average 150 or more miles a day, in favorable weather. The ride from Evansville to Logansport took almost a week, and that from Cincinnati to White Pigeon, Mich., was but a day shorter, and took the traveler over the famous old line of Levi Coffin's underground railroad north to freedom for enslaved blacks.

These "fast" schedules, however, are for good weather, favorable season and solid roads. When these conditions did not prevail, and the "corduroy" was often afloat, travel by stage was not only uncertain, but all schedules were abandoned and the "stager" floundered around at a two- or three-mile gait.

*The early abbreviation for Indiana.

T. A. GOODWIN'S EXPERIENCE.

On a Wednesday noon, in 1837, Thomas Goodwin, the well-known veteran Methodist preacher, of Indianapolis, left Brookville for Greencastle to enter old Asbury University. It had been raining. The old four-horse stage lumbered along at a slow rate and reached Bulltown, seventeen miles from Brookville, that night at 7 o'clock. Goodwin put up for the night. The next morning he found a butcher's wagon, without springs, a seat or cover—the stage—waiting at the door for him, and in a rainstorm that had set the corduroy afloat, the start was made for Indianapolis. The fifty miles to Indianapolis was one great quagmire and at 8 o'clock that night, when the "stage" was still six miles from the capital, an axle gave way. The driver took Goodwin's trunk ahead of him on the "off" horse, and the contracting agent, with the mail in front of him and his passenger on behind, rode the "nigh" horse into Indianapolis, arriving at midnight and too late to catch the West stage. Goodwin had a day's lay-over, in which to inspect the new State House and the largest city he had ever seen.

At 10 o'clock that night he climbed on the nine-seated St. Louis limited stage and started for Putnamville. The road was macadamized as far as Eagle creek, but there the bogs were encountered again, and the stage came to a standstill. The eight male passengers were ordered out and sent to the nearby rail fence to get pries. They extricated the stage from the mudhole and were ready to get aboard, when the driver announced that they had better carry those rails on down the road, for they would need them again. Plainfield, fourteen miles out, was reached in time for breakfast, and Putnamville at 4 o'clock. Goodwin reached Greencastle at 9 o'clock the next Sunday morning, having covered 124 miles in a little less than four full days and traveling two nights, at a total cost of about \$8 or \$9 fare and boarding and lodging.

With the old stages have disappeared the old taverns, with their uniform charge of 25 cents for a bed or meal and a "fip" for a "dram." Though in these days the rate seems low, many good fortunes were made in these old taverns, whose proprietors bought pork at \$1.25 a hundred, eggs at 3 cents a dozen,

whisky at 25 cents a gallon, and all other supplies at correspondingly low rates.

EDITORIAL NOTES.—Calvin Fletcher, Jr., thus describes a stage trip to Chicago from Indianapolis, in March, 1848. "It took the first twenty-four hours to reach Kirklin, in Boone county, the next twenty-four to Logansport and the next thirty-six to reach South Bend. A rest then of twenty-four hours on account of high water ahead, then thirty-six hours to Chicago—five days of hard travel in mud or on corduroy, or sand, the whole way. There was," Mr. Fletcher adds, "at that time of the year, no direct route from Indianapolis to Chicago. The Kankakee was impassable, except at the extreme headwaters, between South Bend and Laporte. Lemon's bridge over the Kankakee between Logansport and Chicago was inaccessible on account of water. In the summer passenger coaches went through, but when wet weather came the mud wagon was used to carry passengers and mail, and when the mud became too deep the mail was piled into crates, canvas-covered and hauled through."

As late as the sixties travel in some parts of the State was still of the old primitive character. During that decade and well into the next one, Walker H. Winslow ran a stage—the "Governor Morton," between Anderson and Marion. He was owner, driver and mail conductor for fourteen years. He had to keep eight head of horses for the stage. Four were required during the winter, and occasionally he had to change horses at Alexandria. The stage coach was of the style built before the civil war. It carried twelve people, but it was frequently crowded with sixteen or twenty. Winslow received \$300 a year from the government for carrying the mail between Anderson and Marion. On the rear end of the coach was the "baggage booth," where trunks were stored. The mail pouches were carried under the driver's seat. There were not many mail pouches in those days, and the stage generally had to stand at the small towns along the way and wait till the postmaster opened the mail pouch and "made up" the out-going mail. Winslow also filled the exciting role of express-carrier, and one day he carried \$30,000. Many times he had to be "diplomatic." Once he had

a large sum of money in gold. It was in two small shot sacks. Stopping at Alexandria for dinner, Winslow says he took off his overshoes while on the stage and slipped a sack of gold into each shoe. He then carried his overshoes into the dining-room and apologized for his absent-mindedness, but he had the overshoes where he could touch them with his feet, and no one at the table knew they were eating over a fortune.

FIRST VINCENNES AND INDIANAPOLIS ROAD.

BY HENRY BAKER.

THESE facts concerning the first wagon road connecting Vincennes with Indianapolis were secured by the writer many years ago from Martin Wines, one of the early settlers of Greene county. The road, or trail, as it was long called, was established in the fall of 1822. An unusual fact connected with it was that it was marked out by dragging a log, or brush, as different reports have it, with an ox team over the entire distance of 120 miles, through the woods, prairies and marshes. The thick, high grass on the prairies and the wild pea vines in the woods so obstructed progress that the dragging of this log or brush was considered the best and cheapest way to mark the route, as mowing would have been too slow. An engineer or surveyor was employed by the State to keep the course, as many variations had to be made from a straight line to suit the lay of the land and the best crossings of the many streams and marshes. The route was directly through the site of Linton, Greene county, and near the home of Martin Wines. Latta's creek marsh, named for John Latta, one of the early settlers, was exactly in the line of the survey, and as Mr. Wines was familiar with the lay of the country he was asked to mark out the best ground to cross the marsh. The way by which he piloted the company became the roadway, and was so used until a few years ago. Along the trail in the woods trees were blazed, and in the prairies tall poles reaching above the high grass were set to guide the travelers.*

*Mr. Baker probably means that these guides were used before the road was marked out.—*Editor.*

A RECOLLECTION OF DENNIS PENNINGTON.

BY JOHN W. RAY.

DENNIS PENNINGTON, a man almost wholly forgotten at the present day, and about whom little or no information can be gleaned in our published histories and biographies, was one of the remarkable men of our State in its formative period. So far as long-continued public service goes, perhaps no man at any period has been more intimately identified with the making of the State. No other man, I believe, in the whole history of the commonwealth, has so frequently represented his constituents in the councils of the State. In this respect his career was certainly notable. As early as 1810 his name appears as speaker in the territorial legislature. He was a delegate from Harrison county to the constitutional convention of 1816, and as such he had an influence in the very beginnings of our legal framework. With the convening of our first legislature he took his seat in the Senate, and during sessions 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 27, 28, 29 he was a member of that body. During sessions 7, 8, 13, 14, and 30 he was in the House. This makes thirteen years as a Senator and five as a Representative, or eighteen all told, as a legislator during the thirty years of his political activity. From sessions 1 to 4, 7 to 11, 15 to 17 and 27 to 30 (inclusive) his services were unbroken—a fact, surely, which must argue a phenomenal popularity and standing with his constituents.

It should be noted that Dennis Pennington represented a type of man that was held in esteem by our pioneer fathers, and a type that cut something of a figure among our early public men. He was uneducated, so far as the schools went, but educated by his contact with life and men. Above all, he possessed the virtues of honesty and a robust common sense—what the rank and file appreciate and designate as “horse sense”—and, something which, if coupled with honesty of purpose, rarely fails to go right and counts for more than mere learning. He was, moreover, outside of his public usefulness, a man of practical, mechanical ability, and the old State House at Corydon, as

well as the famous old inn a mile out of town, built by him, still stand as monuments to his skill. Like the body of those who shaped the beginnings of the State, he was a Christian, being a member, I believe (though of this I am not sure) of the Baptist church.

My personal recollection of Dennis Pennington dates back to the middle thirties. Ever since the seat of government was removed to Indianapolis, in 1825, he had been a boarder at the house of my grandmother, Elizabeth Nowland, one of the best-known public houses in the town, and his place in our family had come to be much like that of a relative—indeed, he was familiarly known to all the family as “Uncle Dennis.” My father and mother moved to Jeffersonville in 1836, and Uncle Dennis was a frequent visitor at our home there. I remember him as a genial, kindly old man, beloved by everybody, and the kind of one to win the heart of a boy. He was somewhat large and heavy, with a big, smooth, smiling face, a cordial, hearty hand-grasp, and of a jocular nature. I recall that when he came he used always to greet my mother with upraised forefinger shaken in playful reproof, and with the words: “Sallie, Sallie, you bad girl, to make me drunk!” This was reminiscent of earlier days, and thereby hung a story. When mother was a young woman and Uncle Dennis a boarder with my grandmother in Indianapolis, he came in one day and found the daughter of the house taking a nap on the lounge in the sitting-room. Securing a corn dodger, some ham, and generous et ceteras on a platter, he left them on a chair beside the sleeper. My mother accepted the little joke as a challenge, and with a vim characteristic of her, planned retaliation. Uncle Dennis was inordinately fond of mince pie, and, while a strong temperance advocate, was not averse to a tang of brandy in his favorite dessert. The day after the dodger and ham offering a great fat pie of extra tempting quality sat smoking hot beside the Pennington plate, intended for his sole consumption. He consumed it, leaving not a crumb behind. When the legislature met at 2 p. m., Pennington of Harrison was not in his seat. At 3 the town was alarmed by the rumor that Uncle Dennis had been poisoned. The legislature adjourned in a panic and came down to the Nowland house to learn about it; the citizens gathered about the place in

awe, and Drs. Dunlap and Sanders came to investigate, but only to be puzzled. Then Sallie, the joker, confessed: Uncle Dennis had merely taken a good stiff glass of cognac brandy along with his mince pie.

I think of Dennis Pennington as a grand old man, who did long and honest and valuable service to the young commonwealth. That he and what he did have passed so completely away from the knowledge of men is regrettable, and as one of the few survivors who remember him I take pleasure in recalling him, even briefly, to the present generation.

[NOTE.—The above recollections were submitted to us shortly before Mr. Ray's death, a few months since.—*Editor.*]

A DENNIS PENNINGTON LETTER.

[In connection with the foregoing article this letter from Dennis Pennington to Colonel John Paul, of Madison, will contribute somewhat to our scant information about the man. For one thing, Mr. Ray's reference to his lack of schooling is here illustrated. There are two points of particular interest in this letter. One is the evidence that in 1815 there was a fight for the removal of the capital from Corydon to Salem, and that Madison also seems to have harbored an aspiration in this direction—facts that have been lost to history. The other is that there was also an agitation for the removal of the Jefferson county seat of justice from Madison to some more central point. In the somewhat fragmentary historical material relating to Jefferson county there is, we believe, no reference to this movement. The letter, now in our possession, was found in Jefferson county not long since.—*Editor.*]

Corydon November 3rd 1815

Dear Sir.

I have thought it not criminal to Drope you a few lines by mail on publical affairs as I have had it in contemplation for some time and still neglected it from time to time and at last have made the venter. I discovered some time ago in the Western Eagle that the party Sperit in your County to a vary high Degree respecting the removeal of the sete of Justice of your County to the center of the same as though it had never been fixed by the unamous request of the citizens of the County at Its first Erection in to a County. It is astonishing to see what parly sperit will Do; thay have forgotten the Dammage those must

sustain that have propity in the Town of Madison. thay would be willing I suppose that Madison should sink so thay could rise on the ruens thereof. But I can Assure you I am not fond of contenanceing such things that has been so unanimously Done by the people as Madison was, if it had been Done Contrary to the wishes of the majority of the people it would be another thing. But that is not the ceaase, and as such I certainly must protest against it. I also feel myself under some obligation to Madison in as much as your last representative have been true to the Interest of this place in As much as when the subject of the removeal of the sete of Government came under consideration He was opposed to it, Except he thought there was a posibility of geting it to his own County and when he found there were no chance he voted against its removeal, for my own parte as tuching the removeal of the seat of Government I think it noncense at this time while under A territorial government for the time is not far when we will be vested with power by General Government to call a convention to fraim a constitution of our own and that convention undoubtedly will have it in their power to say under certain restrictions where it shall be, though I must confess that I should Be opposed to it at this time, as we would certainly have to pay a parte of the national Debt, and paying the officers of Government would bare hard on us, as our taxes is very high at this time, and no money in the tresury I am told that thay are at Salem Determed to take it up on wheles as soon as the Legislature meets and bare it off. But I trust our legislature will be composed of such men as will wisely consider the subject and when thay Do remove it; it will Be for the good of the community at large and not for a few individuals. Whenever the situation will admitt of its going near the center and Do Justice to the community let it be done, but Salem never shall enjoy it if I can help it, I have no notion of humouring them in that way thay are Children and as such I will treat them I have understood that Perry is taken by force and Carried to Kentucky if this be the case it is unsufferrable and ought not to be countenenced among heathens much more By people of Christianity it ought to be represented to the Governor and he make a demand of the Governor of Kentucky

they ought to be made an example of for their conduct. They were afraid to let him have a fair trial in this country

let us be on our guard when our convention men is Chosen that they may be men opposed to slavery, I add no more at present. I am in the highest consideration your friend and Humb
Servent

DENNIS PENNINGTON

Colo. John Paul.

SOME COMMENTS ON TIPTON'S JOURNAL.

BY CAPT. JOHN T. CAMPBELL.

I HAVE read with particular interest the Journal of John Tipton, published in your last issue, describing the route taken by Gen. W. H. Harrison in his Tippecanoe campaign. I am pretty well acquainted with the country all through Parke county, and from Clinton to Newport, in Vermilion county, I am very familiar with the topography. I have surveyed in every river section in Parke county. I have tried to keep track of Tipton in Parke and Vermilion counties, but I can not. He jumps hither and yonder; the only thing that follows in successive order is his dates. But he was not employed to be the historian of the campaign, and as a volunteer he did remarkably well, and it is interesting as well as disappointing to read his Journal.

Friday, Oct. 4th—"Crosst a fine creek." This would be Otter creek. "Came to another and camped." This would be Gundy's Run or Clear creek. Saturday, 5th—"Crosst a fine large creek." I can't imagine what he saw. "All the forepart of this day we had a ridge on our right and good land and good springs on our left." This is correct. He says he went with the boat to Vermilion river to get coal. That is he went by land as a flank guard for the boat, I presume. (Why was coal wanted at that time when wood was so plenty?) "In the evening we marched hard; crosst four creeks." These are good-sized branches. "We came up with our spies at a large creek. We crosst the Purchase line." This would be correct. The "Purchase" or Indian boundary, or "Ten O'clock" line, as it was called by the settlers, is a half-mile south of Big Raccoon creek

where Harrison crossed it. He says: "We traveled 30 miles N. N. West." If he meant after leaving camp Saturday morning he traveled only seventeen miles. "Sunday, 6th. We moved early one mile to the river at coal bank." I can't locate this bank at all. I was born about two miles north of Raccoon creek, where he camped with his spies, and have surveyed in every section for miles about this coal bank. "The coal bank is on the east side of Wabash." There are coal out-crops on the west side that are now being worked. "We went through a small prairie, crosst the river to the west side." The prairie is correct. Tradition says that Harrison's army crossed to west side at a ford about a mile and a half above Montezuma. A cat can wade it now in a long dry time. Local tradition also says that the army crossed Raccoon creek and camped on the high ground on north side. Armiesburg, a village, and for a short time the county seat, was laid out about a half a mile from the camp, and so named in honor of the camp. They could not have crossed on the range line between 8 and 9, where the road now crosses by a bridge, for the south side was almost a precipice forty feet high. The army moved up a dry ravine which made an easy grade from the creek northward, and camped at its head. There are six graves on the west slope of this ravine, near the summit, which can yet be distinguished, said to be those of men from Harrison's army. I have seen them. After crossing to the west side of the river above Montezuma his account is bewildering. I can't locate any of the objects he refers to. Then on Monday, the 7th of October we find him back with the main body south of Raccoon creek, in Parke county. But on Sunday, the 6th, he crossed Little Vermilion creek, then took a south course. He says the hills were on his right, which would be true if he stayed west of the Wabash and went south. Says the hills and river came close together, which would also be true on the west side. After crossing Little Vermilion and taking a south course (Sunday, the 6th), he "came to a small creek." This must have been the same Little Vermilion, and he was lost or bewildered. After going through some prairie and some fine timber the river and hills came together, as before stated, which would be true, but the coal bank fourteen miles below the Vermilion is wrong by ten miles as to distance on the

west side. He says, "We crosst the Wabash half a mile above the mouth of the Vermillion river." This throws everything into a tangle. Some of that whisky which was so often issued to the men affected his geography. If he crossed the Wabash a half-mile above the mouth of Vermilion, the little creek he crossed and let their horses graze, would correspond to Wabash Mill creek; but then the hills would be on his left. In three and a half miles on the east side he would come to Sugar creek, a larger stream than Big Raccoon, of which he makes no mention, and the hills and river do not come together on the east side till Montezuma is reached, and then only the second-bottom hill about thirty-five feet above low water. On Monday, the 7th of October, "We mooved earley three miles and crossed Big Raccoon creek to the Purchase line." If he came south on the east side of the Wabash river from north of Vermilion, this would place his camp for Sunday night on the south side of and near Sugar creek; but he would surely have mentioned Sugar creek if he had seen and crossed it. "Thence 15 miles to the garrison," he continues. If he meant Fort Harrison, it is near twenty miles, but he did not measure distances, and as a guess that was not bad.

Tipton was in a strange country, with other duties to perform, and had to depend often on others for the names of localities. There must have been a considerable sprinkling of settlers scattered along their route, as these streams all had names before the army went there. On the west bank of the Wabash, about a mile above the mouth of Sugar creek, a bushel or so of bullets have been found, nearly all of them battered, and new finds are occurring all the time. I found one three years ago, while surveying for a levee. Tradition says Harrison had a battle there when on his way to Tippecanoe, but John Collett, ex-State geologist, who was born a few miles above, said there was no record of such a battle. [An event of this kind would' certainly have been mentioned by Tipton.—*Editor.*]

I was Professor Collett's chief assistant in 1879, and recall that in the report of the Bureau of Statistics and Geology of that year historic evidence was adduced to the effect that Harrison's Kentucky soldiers took the seed of the now famous Kentucky blue-grass from a point three miles north of Clinton on

the east bank of the Wabash river, called in boating times "Blue Grass Landing." Tom Dowling, a citizen of Terre Haute, and Henry Clay once had considerable correspondence as to the origin of the Kentucky blue-grass, and they agreed that it was found by Harrison's men when they rode out to the river as that point to watch for the pirogues to come up the river with the corn for the horses. The horses ate the grass while waiting, and when the corn arrived they would not eat it. On their way back home the men stopped at that place and gathered what seed they could from the stems still standing. Tipton makes no mention of this matter at all.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—It seems to us that Tipton's movements from Friday, October 4, to Sunday, October 6, can be traced from the Journal more easily than Captain Campbell's comments indicate. From the text it seems tolerably clear that, leaving the main body at work in the erection of Fort Harrison, he went with the guard for the coal boat, which marched up the east side of the Wabash to a point one-half mile below the mouth of Vermilion river, where they found the coal bank. After the loading of the boat they went one mile further up (probably because of better fording there), and crossed to the west side of the Wabash. Returning southward they crossed the Vermilion, and stopped to graze their horses at a small stream which might have been the one emptying into the Wabash some two miles south of the Vermilion. They continued to travel on the west side of the river, but crossed to the east side before coming to Raccoon creek, or, as Tipton indicates later, at the ford where the army crossed to the west side on the 31st; thence on to Fort Harrison, where they arrived Monday, the 7th. That his estimation of distances is sometimes widely in error is proven when he gives the miles between specified points—for example, from the mouth of the Vermilion to Raccoon creek and the "Purchase line." Captain Campbell seems to have confused Tipton's crossing of the Wabash on this trip with the crossing of the army "above Montezuma," some three weeks later. In this return trip southward of the boat guard, nothing is said about crossing the "little" Vermilion. There are, undoubtedly, some confusions in Tipton's narrative, but a close analysis shows it, we believe, to be a coherent and accurate document.

BENJAMIN PARKE.

[The following letter descriptive of Judge Benjamin Parke, was published by Alva O. Reser in *The Lafayette Sunday Times*, June 17, 1906. It was written to Prof. John L. Campbell, of Wabash College, some years ago, and is first published by Mr. Reser. Judge Parke, one of the most notable of the early founders of the State, was a soldier in the battle of Tippecanoe, was the first United States Judge from the district of Indiana, a jurist and a legislator. In legislation promoting schools and libraries he rendered especial service. Parke county was named for him.—*Editor.*]

Salem, April 16, 1900.

Prof. John L. Campbell, Crawfordsville, Ind.

My Dear Friend:—After so long I have obtained the inclosed information from C. C. Mennaugh and William N. Trueblood, with the little I remember of that noble, learned and distinguished good Salem citizen, Judge Parke, a personal friend of my father. He often told me of the admiration he had for the man with such wonderful knowledge that his opinion was often solicited on most any subject, and when given was considered final, and no appeal was necessary. He was kind, genial and of a benevolent disposition. He never wronged any one in a business transaction. He unfortunately became financially embarrassed and unhesitatingly surrendered all his property for the benefit of his creditors. So completely did he deny himself that his family at their meals drank from tin-cups. His wife, Elizabeth Barton Parke (Betsy, as she was called), was held in such high esteem in that community that I will venture to say more baby daughters were named for her than any other lady in southern Indiana at that early day.

Buggies or any vehicle aside from old road (I might say woods) wagons, were not known when going to hold court at different places. I clearly remember when Barton, his son, a very promising young man and of remarkable fine appearance, died of cholera on Sunday, the 30th of June, 1833. He was my Sabbath school teacher. He was beloved by all who knew him.

A daughter, older than Barton (Sarah) married Wm. Hite, a wealthy merchant of Louisville. They had no children, but adopted Francis Adams, an exceedingly bright boy.

R. MORRIS.

THE LAST OF THE MIAMIS.

From The Indianapolis Journal, January 7, 1900.

Some five miles east of Peru, within rifle-shot of the Wabash, stands the home of Gabriel Godfroy, the most notable and interesting Indian in Indiana to-day. Godfroy, though not a full Indian as to blood, is fully an Indian in character, and is of genuine Miami lineage, his father, Francis Godfroy, being the last war-chief of that once powerful tribe, that not only made their home in the Wabash valley, but claimed sovereignty over all of Indiana.

Gabriel Godfroy, picturesque in appearance, is a powerfully built man, in his sixties, with a massive, strong face, made leonine by a heavy growth of yellowish-white hair which falls to the shoulders or is worn in a knot behind. His nature is utterly transparent, and one who converses with him and takes note shrewdly may get a key to the Indian question and guess why the fates have dealt hardly with him and his people in their intercourse with the whites. After his more than three-score years spent cheek by jowl with the invaders of his heritage, the modification is but superficial; their ways are not his ways, and his conformity to them is, at best, but awkward and unnatural. For example, the Indian's natural domicile is a wigwam, or something akin, and Godfroy and his family are strikingly out of place in the great, barren, many-roomed house where they find shelter. The rules of living, the orderly arrangement, the convenience and ornamentation which make a house a home in any sense of the word, are here missing entirely. The place is simply a refuge from outdoors, when outdoors proves unpleasant.

Again, the Indian's natural activity is to tread the wild places with moccasined foot, the preying instinct hot in his blood; and the spectacle of him in cowhide brogans caring in his slipshod way for plow, horses and cattle is so palpably forced and incongruous as to be grotesque. We read encouraging reports here and there of the civilized Indian taking to husbandry, and Godfroy himself has been cited as a thrifty, prosperous citizen. The statements are not purposely false, but they are a decided per-

version of the real fact. Thrift, providence, anything like industrial application and business sagacity is utterly foreign to the Indian's character, and the fact that he may be seemingly well-to-do at any given time signifies little. A better illustration of this could not be found than the case of Godfroy. When, more than a half-century ago, the Miamis sold to the United States government the last great tract of land which they held as a tribe, there were reserved to Francis Godfroy many hundreds of acres of the finest Wabash bottom. To part of this domain the son Gabriel succeeded, and at one time owned more than 300 acres of that rich tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Wabash and the Mississinewa. Here he lived in the open-handed style of a manorial lord, his house the stopping place of all his fellow-Indians, who looked to him as their friend and superior, and for whose debts he was surety. All that is over now. Godfroy has left of his father's ample reserves but forty-eight acres, part of them hilly and sterile. As one inquires further among the Indians of this locality he finds the same story repeated, and there is revealed the pathetic spectacle of these one-time lords of the soil now in a class with our poorest, least successful white farmers, floundering along in a helpless, inefficient sort of way, and pushed to the wall by the conditions of civilized life. One of the most notable cases is that of William Peconga, whose former home stood on the Me-shin-go-me-sia reserve, in the southern part of Wabash county. Peconga is the grandson of old Chief Me-shin-go-me-sia, to whom and his band was reserved ten sections or ten square miles of land. In an evil hour they had this common property divided and apportioned among the several members of the band. Few of them now have anything left, and Peconga, the chief heir, recently left his last strip of land, and is living with a friend.

The explanation is two-fold. In the first place the Indian, along with his lack of foresight, has but little sense of values; what he wants he will have at any cost, if it lies within his means, and he will give his promise to pay or a mortgage with very little thought as to result. Hence, assailed by a multiplicity of wants that he never knew in his savage condition, and without the check of prudence, his possessions must, in the nature of things, slip away from him.

Again, the Indian is utterly unqualified to take care of himself in the midst of our civilization, with its unscrupulous measuring of wits. There is no gainsaying that a very dominant trait with the white man is avarice; there is very little mercy for the unsophisticated, and this avarice preying off the Indian makes an ancient tale of wrong, the half of which has never been told. From the early days of the traders they have paid exorbitantly for every commodity they bought, and have been encouraged to revel in credit wherever their lands or annuities would secure their debts. To the present day the whites sustain this attitude toward them, and sharks operating from the shady side of the law have left them all but penniless. Litigation of one sort or another has been pending for years in the courts at Marion, and one does not have to inquire far to hear of lawyers who have grown richer as the Indians have grown poorer. Among the latter exists the feeling generally that they have been over-reached in every way; that they have no chance against the white man. Even history, they say, is but the white man's perversion of truth, and the legends preserved among them, as I got them from Godfroy, breathe bitterly of wrongs done them in the early wars—wrongs that have never been chronicled.

Along the beautiful Mississinewa, from its union with the Wabash to the Misissinewa battle-ground, linger the sorry remnants of a tribe that once ranked among the noblest of the North American savages. As one makes his way up this romantic stream, so long beloved of the red men, he finds them here and there, often with a skin more or less Caucasian, but always with the unmistakable, fine, dark Indian eye, which has in it something of the eagle. One notable thing is the persistence of the Indian instincts, despite this liberal admixture of white man's blood. Gabriel Godfroy's boys are as aboriginal in their proclivities as the Miami striplings of a century ago. They are skilled in the use of the bow, and, perched in some tree-top overhanging the river, kill many a fish with their deadly arrows. The mellifluous Miami language is not allowed to die out, nor the Indian custom of naming children for some natural object or quality, and not the least interesting of my recollection of my

visit to Godfroy's is that of him and sundry of his youngsters going through their weird, curious dances for my delectation.

One with the disposition, time and patience might make an interesting study in this region of the Indian as he is after long contact with the civilized life, and pick up much lore cherished by them which reveals the nature of these people. No stream in our State is pleasanter to loiter along than this one where such student would go to seek his material. No stream more stimulates the imagination with romantic associations, for it was a favorite abiding place with the Miami, and up and down its beautiful, winding, narrow valley stood his picturesque wigwam. Here slumbers forgotten the dust of many a chief and warrior once famous among his people. Here lived and now rests Frances Slocum, who, stolen from her Pennsylvania home when a child, spent a long life among her captors, so content with their customs that, when discovered and identified in her old age by her own people, she could not be prevailed upon to go to them.

Here, also, everlooking a beautiful bend and stretch of the river, about a mile from the little town of Jalapa, Pleasant township, Grant county, is one of the most famous Indiana battle-grounds in the State, known as the Mississinewa. It is now a stretch of tilled fields, unmarked in any way, and only known vaguely to the surrounding countryside as the spot where some sort of a battle once took place. It merits more explicit celebrity, for here, in the early dawn of December 18, 1812, occurred a fierce and bloody conflict, akin to that of Tippecanoe, between about six hundred whites under Lieutenant-Colonel John B. Campbell, and an uncertain number of Miami and Munsee Indians. About all the records that exist of the fight are based on Colonel Campbell's official report, which gives the victory to the whites, but the Miami tradition, as told by Godfroy, varies from the received account, and glows with indignation at the violence previously committed on a Munsee village, which led the Miamis to side with the Munsees and make the early morning attack.

G. S. C.

NOTE.—Godfroy still lives at his old home but is, we are told, no longer a land-owner. For an interesting tradition related by him see Vol. I, No. 1, p. 19, of this magazine.—*Editor.*

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INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Published at Indianapolis, Indiana.

GEORGE S. COTTMAN, *Editor and Publisher.*

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND ITS WORK.

The Indiana Historical Society is not a widely advertised institution. Many know in a vague way that such a society exists; the majority of these think of it as in a condition of sere and yellow desuetude; a few know what it really is doing and has done.

This society has the prestige that comes with age. It has existed now for more than seventy-five years, and in the course of that time there have been identified with it, particularly in its earlier years, a goodly proportion of the men whose names are honored in the history of the State.*

Organized for the purpose of disseminating historical information as well as for the preservation of historical material, it has, from time to time, had read before it original papers of distinct historical value. Of late years this custom has practically been discontinued and the society's work has been chiefly confined to its publications. Up to date it has issued three volumes of these publications which in character and value compare favorably with those of the leading societies in the same field. The selecting, the editing, and the papers contributed show at once the supervision of experts and thoroughgoing work at the hands of not a few writers in the State who, turning aside for a moment from their professional vocations, have demonstrated their capability in this line. To be represented for future time in these collections is a distinction that might be gratifying to any one. The great handicap to this work is the lack of funds. By way of permanent endowment it has the interest from \$3,000,

*For example, the officers in 1842 were: President, Samuel Merrill; Vice-Presidents, Jeremiah Sullivan, Charles Dewey and Isaac Blackford; Corresponding Secretary, John Law; Recording Secretary, William Sheets; Treasurer, Charles W. Cady; Executive Committee, Henry P. Coburn, James M. Ray, Henry Ward Beecher, Geo. H. Dunn and Douglass Maguire. A more notable list representing the various parts of the State could hardly have been selected.

\$2,500 of which, to be so used, was donated by the late William H. English; but there is at present little return from membership fees. From time to time modest appeals have been made to the legislature for aid in a work which a few individuals are carrying on gratuitously for the good of the State, but so far, apparently, the Indiana legislature has never been able to see that the history of the State has any value, or that a historical society is worthy of any notice.

Thus much for the actual accomplishments of the society. On the other hand, in the course of its three-score and sixteen years there have been long lapses, sometimes extending over years, during which it seemed to have ceased utterly. The semi-annual public meetings and the presentations of papers originally contemplated in the constitution has dwindled down to one brief business meeting each year which few hear of and fewer attend.

Now, there is a decided sentiment with at least a few that the State Historical Society ought to be doing something in addition to publishing two or three pamphlets a year, and its possibilities are becoming more and more apparent. In various directions it can be seen that the historic interest in Indiana is surely though slowly growing. The old settlers' meeting (though this is, perhaps, the crudest and least reliable manifestation of this interest) has become a fixture throughout the State; the several patriotic societies, such as the D. A. R., the D. R., and others of similar character, based as they are upon the past, are turning attention that way; in the history departments of our colleges a local interest is being evinced, and in the matter of local societies there seems to be a growing activity, which within the last year or so has issued in the formation of several new organizations. What is needed is that these various movements shall work together, borrowing stimulus from each other. The local history societies in particular work in such a narrow field and are so unrelated to the larger movement that they are, very often, of a sporadical nature, and of those that are organized only a small proportion continue to thrive. A larger relation—an atmosphere that shall feed them is possible, and the State society, by virtue of its standing as a State organization, is in a position to take the initiative and create between itself and the

minor organizations ties that shall bind all together on a common working basis. Just how this might be done would be a matter for careful consideration, but some hints may be borrowed from what is being done elsewhere, particularly in Wisconsin. Working from these hints we venture here to present a tentative plan, the intent of which is to stimulate thought in this direction and to call forth an expression of views from others. We would be pleased to have representatives of some of the local societies form a symposium on this subject.

1. Local Societies. A correspondence with the secretary of each local historical society inviting to auxiliary membership. Conditions of membership, an annual fee of one dollar with privilege of one voting delegate at meetings; an annual report from the local secretary setting forth the work of his society for the past year, and transmitting of copies of all programs and other printed matter, the same to be filed away by the State society. In return, the State society to publish an annual bulletin exhibiting the various reports; to transmit copies of these bulletins to local societies, and also copies of all its future publications, including its historical pamphlets.

2. Patriotic Societies. An invitation to the various patriotic societies throughout the State to exchange publications with the State Historical Society, and extending to said societies the courtesy of honorary membership.

3. Libraries. Circular letters to all the public libraries in the State requesting brief account of what has been done by them (if anything) toward promoting the interest in local history, and setting forth the importance of collecting and preserving all local pamphlets and of indexing the current history in local newspaper files.

4. Membership. A circular letter advertising the society and its objects, and inviting into its membership individuals whose interest in these objects is known.

It should be repeated that these suggestions are thrown out simply in lieu of better. The argument we wish to make is that there is a field of possibilities at present unworked, and which is proper to the State society. With a desire on its part to enter upon it, practical and effective ways and means would not be difficult to devise.

A LINCOLN MEMORIAL TABLET.

The Indianapolis Commercial Club some months since stimulated a local history interest among the more advanced pupils of the public schools by inviting essays on this subject, "What historic spot in Indianapolis should be commemorated with a tablet, and why?" Something over 200 essays were submitted, and perhaps a half-dozen places were discussed as eligible to the honor in question, but by far the greatest number were for the spot made memorable by a brief speech of Abraham Lincoln's in February of 1861, when on his way to Washington to be inaugurated as President. This speech was made from the balcony of the old Bates House, on the site now occupied by the Claypool Hotel. In deference to this preference as thus expressed by the young people, the Commercial Club determined to mark this place, and that the pupils of the schools might be still further identified with the movement, competitive designs for a bronze tablet were asked for from students in the art departments of the two high schools of the city. Nineteen designs were submitted, and from among these a Commercial Club committee, aided by an advisory committee of artists, selected one executed by Miss Marie H. Stewart, of Irvington. This design, made into a handsome bronze by Rudolph Schwarz, a sculptor of the city, was set in the wall of the Claypool Hotel on Washington street beneath the place where the speech was made.* The tablet, six feet long by three wide, presents a profile head of Lincoln, the space on the left side being occupied by a log cabin and that on the right by the nation's capitol, symbolic of the two extremes of his life. Underneath is inscribed in bold gothic lettering:

"Here, February 11, 1861, Abraham Lincoln, on his way to Washington to assume the Presidency, in an address said: 'I appeal to you to constantly bear in mind that not with politicians, not with Presidents, not with office-seekers, but with you is the question: Shall the Union and shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generations?'"

On Lincoln's birthday, just forty-six years and one day after

*There is a difference of opinion as to which balcony of the Bates House Lincoln spoke from, some contending that it was one on the Illinois street side.

the speech was made, the tablet was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies and in the presence of a large crowd, the leading feature of the occasion being an address by Governor Hanly. The event was further signalized by a public meeting at Tomlinson Hall in the evening.

HISTORIC SPOTS IN INDIANAPOLIS.

The sentiment in favor of marking historic spots is growing in our midst, and in view of possible future accomplishment in this direction in Indianapolis we would suggest that there is within the city at least two points invested with an historic interest far more essentially related to Indianapolis than the fortuitous Lincoln speech. One of these is the spot on South street, between Delaware and Pennsylvania, where stood the old Madison & Indianapolis railroad depot. The arrival here of the first railway train marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Indianapolis. It was the introduction into the history of the town of a factor which preeminently determined its future and which has made it a metropolis. To commemorate this beginning of the city's greatness is to recognize the significance and bearing of an historical event.

The other spot is the piece of vacant ground overlooking White river between the Washington street bridge and the site of the old bridge. Here stood the cabin of John McCormick, the real founder of the settlement that became the capital of the State, and around this spot Indianapolis had its beginnings. There is indeed a dispute as to whether John McCormick or George Pogue were the first actual settlers here, but there is no dispute as to the relations of the two to the settlement. Pogue, who squatted a mile or so farther east, was isolated and detached; nobody followed him, and he was not an influence in the further peopling of the locality. McCormick, on the other hand, was followed by his brothers, James and Samuel, and with these, or close after them, came those who made the nucleus of a town, which was one of the factors that determined the selection of the site for the capital. Further historic interest attaches to this neighborhood. The first comers to the spot were led hither by Indian trails, a half-dozen of which converged at the mouth

of Fall creek, by reason of a sandbar across the river there. There is a story to the effect that on one occasion Zachary Taylor, on his way to the Wabash with some three hundred troops, came by way of this ford; that, by coincidence, he found there a large force of Delaware Indians camped at the place and in conference with the famous Tecumseh; that that night Taylor encamped across the creek from the Indians, and that the latter, stirred to passion by a speech of Tecumseh's, threatened trouble that was only averted by the influence of William Conner, a trader among the Delawares, and by Anderson, their principal chief.

In brief, the piece of ground referred to, which is now little more than a waste, might appropriately be converted into a little park and marked by the erection on the site of the McCormick home a duplicate of that first cabin, typical of the early Hoosier homes.

5 REVOLUTIONARY GRAVES.

The following statements as to Revolutionary graves in the State are sent us by Mrs. Elinor Campbell, of Jeffersonville.

Jacob Mikesell, from Kentucky, lies in a private burial ground near Bethlehem, Clark county. Some place between New Washington and Bethlehem is buried John Brinton, whose name appears in the list of Revolutionary pensioners published in 1835, and in a list of coffins made by Robert Tilford at New Washington, March 22, 1847, is one for "Old John Brinton, a pensioner." In cemetery at Rising Sun, Ohio county, are (1) John Elliott (grave unmarked save by a small stone on which is inscribed "A Soldier of 1776," set up by the sexton, Mr. George Dugle), and (2) Noah Miller (grave marked by a slab mounted on four pillars). At Aberdeen, Ohio county, is buried Robert Turner, of Lycoming county, Pa., grandfather of Robert Easton, of Rising Sun. In New Washington, Clark county, is the grave of Alden Smith, a Revolutionary soldier from Massachusetts, who, after the war, emigrated to western New York, and afterward came to Indiana. Near New Washington, in a country graveyard, is Thomas Arbuckle. He was from Rockbridge county, Va. Emigrated to Kentucky, and later to Indiana.

According to an old book called "Barber's History of All the

States and Territories," the following inscription is from a monument in "the graveyard at Fort Wayne."

"Sacred to the memory of Alexander Ewing, one of the bravest soldiers of the Revolution. From the year 1780 to the peace of 1783 he was actively engaged in the ranger service on the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania. He was a volunteer at the battle of the Thames in 1813, and among the first who broke the British lines on that occasion, so glorious to the arms of his country. Died at Fort Wayne, January 1, 1827, aged 60 years."

From Captain L. C. Baird, of Jeffersonville, Ind., we are in receipt of a list of the burial places of veterans of our several wars. This list contains in all 211 names, classed as follows: Revolutionary War, 2; War of 1812, 1; Mexican War, 4; War of the Rebellion, 182; Spanish War, 3. Nineteen buried in one cemetery are classed as both Mexican and Civil War soldiers. Four cemeteries are specified—"Mulberry Street," "Walnut Ridge," "Eastern," and "Roman Catholic," all of which, we infer, are located in Jeffersonville.

LOCAL HISTORY CONTRIBUTIONS.

A Campbell Family Tradition.—In the *Rockville Tribune* for December 26, 1906, Captain John T. Campbell relates at length a story, traditional in his family, of the capture by Indians, in 1812, of two boys, John Campbell and Vinson Edwards (the former an uncle of the writer). The capture was made in what is now Sullivan county, and the boys were taken northward. Neither ever found his way back home. Of Edwards's after life little was ever ascertained, but Campbell, after being traded about from tribe to tribe, became practically an Indian in his tastes, married among them and eventually organized a band of his own and became a chief. His story is one of the romance tales of Indian days, and is, we believe, unrecorded, except in this narrative of Captain Campbell's. Incidentally the writer tells of several matters that are interesting, as, for example, the ruffianisms of a white man, known as "Woolly Neck," which led to the retaliatory stealing of the boys. There is also a description of a fierce tornado that greeted his grandfather and his fellow immigrants just as they arrived at their Indiana home.

"*The Battle of Cass County.*"—This is the caption of a short article by W. S. Wright in the *Logansport Journal*, January 27, 1907. In it the writer recalls that in 1791 occurred a fight between the Indians of Eel river and the force under General Wilkinson, in his expedition down the Wabash. This has local interest as being within the bounds of the present Cass county.

A Heroine of Civil War Days.—The recent death in Greencastle of Mrs. David E. Badger recalls an incident which is an echo of Civil War times, the particulars of which are told by a correspondent to the *Indianapolis News* in the issue of February 14, 1907. The substance of it is that in a riot in Greencastle precipitated between some Union soldiers there and an overwhelming number of Southern sympathizers, Mrs. Badger, then Miss Lou Walls, fronted the assailing mob with a saber and fairly held it at bay until the tables were turned by the report that Morton's troops were coming. In consequence of her fearless act, says the correspondent, "Governor Morton soon afterward invited her to Indianapolis, and she spent a week in that city, the guest of the State, for she was taken in charge by the officers of the army under the direction of the Governor, and was the guest of honor of the troops then in the camps near Indianapolis. Among the presents she received in recognition of her bravery, was a silk dress from the Governor and his staff, an engraved revolver from the Forty-third Regiment, another silk dress from friends, and many other things appreciated deeply by her."

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES—TIPPECANOE AND CASS COUNTIES.

Since our last issue two local historical societies have been added to the State's list. The first of these, in date, is the Tippecanoe Historical Society, organized last December with a list of about twenty-five active and ten honorary members. Judge Richard P. DeHart is president and Hon. Alva O. Reser secretary. At Logansport a vigorous society has just been formed with a good membership and, seemingly, an abundance of enthusiasm. Judge D. P. Baldwin is president and W. S. Wright secretary. An original feature of their plans is a division and classification of their proposed lines of work. These divisions, each to be under charge of an appointed head, are as follows:

1. Sociology, societies, churches, moral and religious matters.
2. Economic and industrial matters, improvements and agri-

culture, roads, methods of communication, railroads, telephones, buildings, factories, etc. 3. Political and civic matters, public officials, political parties, methods and progress. 4. Science, meteorology, law and medicine. 5. Art. 6. Biography and necrology. 7. Literature and education, writers of books and editors of papers, with copy of all books and papers published. 8. Military, war, etc.

At the organization a resolution was passed instructing the secretary to request of citizens of Cass county, through the medium of the press, memoranda of historical data, including descriptions of historical relics, this data to be furnished in writing for the purpose of filing with the records of the society, and requesting, further, that the public library furnish the society with a list of rare books, pamphlets, newspapers, relics, etc., owned by the library, and of books of local and State interest. A committee on membership and enrollment was appointed, to which was added the editors of various papers and the executive committee, who were authorized to accept names of charter members.

A CENTENNIAL FOR 1916.

Contemporary with the organization of the Cass county society was that of a movement looking to a celebration in 1916 of the State's centenary. This idea, which was launched by Mr. W. S. Wright, the secretary of the society, is being pushed vigorously, and in the State Senate a joint resolution has been introduced providing for the appointment by the Governor of a centennial commission to consist of one member from each county, with the Governor, Vice-President Fairbanks and our members of Congress as ex-officio members, these to serve without compensation or expense, and to report to the next legislature. A part of Mr. Wright's plan is to enlist all the historical societies in this movement.

THE KIND WE LIKE TO GET.

Charlestown, Ind., Jan. 8, 1907.

Editor the Magazine of History:

I send you \$1.00 to continue the magazine. Tipton's and Naylor's papers are worth \$5.00 to me. The old Naylor home is in sight of this town, and is where the Judge was brought up, and where he enlisted in Captain Bigger's company for Tippecanoe. Glorious fellows, weren't they! Sincerely,

JOHN A. H. OWENS.

A WORD ABOUT THIS MAGAZINE

THE INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY is one of the few historical quarterlies published in the United States that are not supported by historical societies or by State aid. We of Indiana unquestionably are not progressive in this direction. We have from the beginning been derelict in caring for the history we have made; our archives have been rifled; our documents have been sold by janitors as junk. The State itself in caring even for its official documents has, in the past, been culpable beyond pardon in this matter of general neglect.

Much of the indifference that has permitted this exists to-day. Material necessary to our complete written history not only has passed away but is now passing. Old men who have had part in the history of the commonwealth die, and with them is going the last dwindling remnant of first-hand knowledge of the phases of life that have been; some of them leave papers, journals and other documents of interest, and these, descending to indifferent heirs, become irretrievably lost. To gather from surviving pioneers their testimonials, to save from oblivion documents still accessible, and to search out and make available forgotten matter is a needed service.

That service this magazine has undertaken to do. For two years it has maintained its function single-handed, believing that it was laying up honor for itself by promoting a work the value of which is bound to be recognized at a later day. The value of such work is already recognized in surrounding States, among which may be mentioned Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Minnesota and Kansas. In a word, interest in local history is but a part of social development.

To all those whose State pride extends to a pride in the State's history, we appeal for support in a work the need of which is unquestionable. Magazines like this one are published in at least twenty different States. In nearly all of these they are kept up either by State aid or by historical societies. In a very few instances they are conducted as private enterprises, and this is one of the few.

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THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. III

JUNE, 1907

No. 2

PIONEER LIFE.

BY BENJAMIN S. PARKER.

PAPER No. II.

The Old-Time Singing Schools; "Missouri Harmony" and Other Singing Books—Debating Clubs, Literary Societies and Other Amusements—Winter Sport—Religious Life and Its Social Side—Notes by the Editor.

THE old-time singing schools served the double purpose of social gatherings and schools of vocal instruction. In the country such schools were held either at the district school-houses or the local churches of denominations other than the Friends, these at that time opposing musical instruction of every kind. The books used were those devoted to sacred music. Probably the earliest of the music books used in Henry county was the "Missouri Harmony," a book that contained many of the standard hymns which survive from generation to generation with others, the words and music of which are now forgotten. It was written in what was known as "buckwheat" notes, because the characters representing the notes resembled grains of buckwheat, but each differed from the other sufficiently to indicate its name without reference to its position on the staff. The "Missouri Harmony" only used the four syllables, mi, fa, sol, la, repeating them to make the full octave, thus: fa, sol, la, mi, fa, sol, la, fa. When the "Missouri Harmony," which held the field a long time, went out, it was succeeded by either the round note system now in use, the figure note system, or an extension of the system used in the "Harmony," which provided additional characters for the three notes of the octave—do, si, re, the do being repeated to fill out the octave.

In many country neighborhoods the singings occurred on Sunday afternoons. The meetings, however, were not confined to Sundays, as the master found it best to have two or three schools on hand at the same time. Several masters were often running

schools in the same neighborhood, and between these schools there was considerable emulation which sometimes led to a joint meeting where the rival classes, under the leadership of their respective teachers, contested for superiority. The singers were chosen very much as were the spellers at the spelling matches. Judges were selected who were to listen to all the contests, and award the honors. The first class to sing stood and sang two selections, first the notes and then the words. The second class, in like manner, sang the same selections, and then two more. The first class then sang the latter airs and two new ones, and so on till the contest closed. In the midst of every afternoon school there was a recess, which was made good use of by old and young. For pure and wholesome social enjoyment, few recreations surpassed the old country singing-school, and there at the same time were trained many sweet singers for the local churches, as well as for the homes.

In the older books the parts were arranged for treble, or air, answering to the modern soprano, and sung by men as well as women; tenor, or double air, for both men and women, and bass, for men. Baritone and alto were not used. Among the books in use other than "Missouri Harmony" were the "Christian Psalmist," the "Sacred Melodeon," two or three of Dr. Lowell Mason's books (which used the Guidonian system), several of A. D. Filmore's books, and a number of others. The "Christian Psalmist" and Filmore's books were written in the figure system, which was invented by Rev. Thomas Harrison, a teacher. The "Sacred Melodeon" was in the improved "buckwheat" notation.

Among the early singing masters of Henry county were Lee Shelley, afterward sheriff of the county; "Sam" Hill, author of the once popular song with the chorus:

"I am so fond of singing school I can't stay away, oh, I can't stay away,"

and William Cole, a composer of some note. There were also Joseph Rich, Joseph Shawhan, Mason Clift, George R. Pennell, Jacob M. Ward, Benjamin Hawley and others. The most notable of them all, perhaps, was John Wyatt, who possessed a bass voice that would have won him fame had he properly cultivated it and sought his chance instead of contenting himself with country singing-schools at fifty cents per scholar. He

afterward became a hardware merchant at Lewisville, and then a justice of the peace.

The usual charges in these schools were fifty to seventy-five cents per pupil for a term of twelve lessons, and at these rates the classes not infrequently tested the holding capacities of the rooms where they met.

So attractive were these singing-schools that a large percentage of the young Quakers of fifty years ago persisted in taking part in them, despite all the restraints imposed by their people, and to that fact is largely due the changed attitude of the second generation of Friends toward the study of music.

Other social features that combined diversion and social intercourse with a valuable intellectual training were the debating clubs, moot courts, mock legislatures, (1) and literary societies. Men who afterward became prominent in the State's history as politicians, statesmen, orators and thinkers had their beginnings and first fed their aspirations in these neighborhood organizations which stimulated their budding powers. The debating club, moot court and mock legislature afforded excellent practice in impromptu speaking and in parliamentary usage. The moot courts were more common to the smaller villages than to the country or large towns. The popularity of the literary society was general. In the early fifties they became numerous throughout Henry and Wayne counties, and joint meetings were held in which societies from Spiceland, Raysville, Knightstown, Union, Dublin, Richmond and other places took part. The literary club idea, so popular now, seems to have had its origin in the old literary societies or "literaries," and the literary picnics or associations in which they united were very similar to the club federations of the present.

One other form of assemblage that should be mentioned is the picnic, which, except in the form of the *fete champetre*, previously spoken of, did not come in until a few years before the Civil war. The ordinary picnic of to-day has for its object diversion pure and simple, unrelated to any more serious purpose, but originally it was connected with the idea of promoting some moral cause—temperance, the Sunday-schools, etc., or at least it was to celebrate some great day in the calender, such as the

Fourth of July. So imbued were our fathers and mothers with the notion that pleasure and usefulness should be combined that it took them a good while to believe that the social picnic had merits of its own and needed no excuse to justify its existence.

By way of contrast to the summer picnic, mention may be made of the most popular out-of-door winter sport in early Henry county. This was sleighing. Before the protecting forests were cleared away, our winter snows lay upon the ground much longer than they do now, and sleighing was generally indulged in. Every sort of sleigh, sled, spider, jumper or other sliding vehicle took its place upon the highways and contributed its mite to the variety and picturesqueness of the daily show. Almost every man and boy knew how to construct a sled of some kind. The most primitive kind was the hickory jumper. It was often made without a nail, of long hickory poles notched at the proper places to allow the curves and tied to the horse's corn-husk collar. Long pins set in auger holes in the pole runners supported the seat. No harness was used other than the bridle and lines and the collar, to which the pole shafts were tied by strings. The jumper was a mere skeleton of the roughest form, but the sport of riding one was heightened by its crudeness. On the other hand, the fine, strong sleighs made from natural runners and provided with handsome, comfortable bodies and seats by the local workmen, were the pleasantest and easiest-going of all vehicles. People did not then hesitate to start out on sleigh journeys of many days' duration with but little fear of a sudden passing away of the snow. (2)

The various conferences, associations, synodical gatherings and camp and protracted meetings of the various sects represented in the early religious life of Henry county, including the monthly and quarterly meetings of the Friends, were times of reunion among old associates, and for the extension of generous hospitality, and also for a decorous exercise of the social spirit. Visitors to such meetings from a distance were freely entertained by the people who lived in the vicinities of the churches where the gatherings assembled. When the Henry county Quakers went up to Richmond to yearly meeting, they were made at home by the Friends of the town or surrounding farms. As at least three States were represented in these meetings, it

was no small tax upon the generosity of the Richmond Quakers and their neighbors.

A like spirit was manifested by the other sects. Those who were the recipients of such hospitality understood very well that any contributions of provisions they might make would be welcome, but they were welcomed without question when they came empty-handed. The exchange of friendly amenities and the extension of acquaintance served to give the meetings a social value that is lacking in the more formal gatherings of the present day. The summer or autumnal camp-meetings at which families of the same faith collected, from near and far, and dwelt in rough cabins or tents, sometimes for weeks, were not only times of intense religious aspirations and endeavor, but were also social in their character. The well-ordered camp, the cool shades, the meals partaken of in the woods or at a common table, and the hours open to converse and pleasant promenades between the hours of preaching, hymn-singing and worship, were wholly social in their character and effects.

In this connection it may be well to note that many of the religious denominations which are now strong in the county were but little known in its earlier life. As said, the Friends, Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians were the first. After the large immigrations of the thirties set in, the Christians or Campbellites began an earnest work of proselyting and grew rapidly. To the later period, also, belong the United Brethren, German Baptists, Dunkards or Tunkers, Lutherans, Allbrights or German Methodists, Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, Universalists, Hicksite Friends, Spiritualists, and African Methodists. These have been or are now prominent in the county.

The Dunkards have always been considered a peculiar people, especially in the quaintness of their garb and in the refusal of the men "to mar the corners of the beard," as well as in certain of their religious rites, such as the kissing between the full-bearded brethren, their foot-washings and their making of the Lord's Supper a generous meal. The shad coat, with standing collar, the broad-brimmed hat and the absence of buttons from the clothing are as characteristic of the masculine members of the church as they were of the old-time Quakers. Some Dun-

kards used to discard buttons altogether and fasten their coats and vests with hooks and eyes, which were hidden from view.

EDITORIAL NOTES. 1. An odd diversion that seemed to prevail during the thirties was the "mock legislature." We say prevailed, for though the local histories make very little mention of it, occasional notices in contemporary newspapers indicate that it was popular. A word from some of our older readers describing this institution would be very acceptable. The "Indianapolis Legislature" flourished for several years during the thirties.

2. Mr. Parker omits to mention the "bob-sled" as a very important factor in the enjoyment of winter. As to when the bob-sled was introduced we are not informed, but it is no modern innovation. It consisted of two short pairs of runners set tandem, the front pair responding freely to the tongue like the front wheels of a wagon, thus affording extra length for a sleigh, and at the same time turning with safety. Primarily it was designed for heavy hauling, but it lent itself admirably to social purposes when, surmounted by a big box-bed partially filled with clean straw, it made a snug, warm nest for a dozen or so boys and girls. Probably no social bunch on earth was ever more in hilarious evidence than the jolly bob-sled party of a moonlight night when the big runners sang a song to the crisp snow on the well-beaten road and the mettlesome horses tugged at the taut lines, while their flying hoofs beat a tattoo and the bells jangled merrily. Doubtless the old bob-sled was a potent promoter of the gentler passion and early marriages, for a half-score of buxom damsels and husky swains jumbled together within the compass of a box-bed was a powerful stimulus to love's young dream. In chronicles of the past let not the bob-sled be forgotten. As one appreciative poet sings:

"Good old Mr. Bob-sled,
Though yer out o' style,
Still ye've got these other sleds beat a thousan' mile.
Least that's my opinion,
An' I'd ort t' know,
'Cause we was just like kinfolks forty years ago."*

*W. M. Herschell.

Another omission of Mr. Parker's is the spelling-school, perhaps the most famous of all the old institutions, and the popularity of which still continues in some districts. The world at large is familiar with Edward Eggleston's description in the "Hoosier Schoolmaster" of a spelling-match. Little perhaps, can be added to that, except that the method of spelling as there given does not correspond exactly to the common method of a later day. There the heads of the classes are pitted against each other and the spelling is confined to them until one misses, when the next in line takes his place. The mode with which we are familiar carries back and forth and down the standing lines from head to foot and back again till the poorer spellers are weeded out and the better following till one side is down. The rivalry and personal ambition and feeling involved in these contests were quite as intense as Mr. Eggleston portrays them, and all participants will recall the excitement and little tremor of dread that always went with the possibility of defeat. No other intellectual practice of our fathers, perhaps, so engendered and fed a desire for neighborhood glory as these trials of orthographic skill, and the cultivation in this direction was quite out of proportion to that of the other branches of the simple country-school curricula. Prompted by the thirst for glory, many a country boy consumed what might be called the midnight tallow at home over his spelling-book with an assiduity that nothing else could have caused. The absolute standard of authority generally recognized was the spelling-book then in use, and any appeal from that to a lexicon where words were spelled more ways than one was considered an unfair subterfuge and was frowned down. The familiarity with the words as arranged in the spelling-book columns was oftentimes amusing, and not infrequently, as we well remember, when the first word was given out and spelled, the following ones were successively tripped off the tongue with a swiftness that left him who pronounced following after, functionless and bewildered, till finally some one failed to remember. The pupils of a school considered the privilege of an occasional spelling bee a vested right, and as a rule the little district schoolhouse was crowded to its limit, not only by the young people who participated but also by their elders, who sat sedately by witnessing with parental pride the performances of their offspring.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN INDIANA.

No. II—THE NATIONAL ROAD.

BY SMILEY N. CHAMBERS.

[This paper was read before the Indiana Centennial Association, at Indianapolis, July 4, 1900. It is here slightly abridged. The full text may be found in the *Indianapolis Journal* for July 15, 1900.]

NEED OF A GREAT HIGHWAY.

Our fathers, endowed with wisdom, courage and foresight, possessing a broad, though by no means adequate, prophecy of the future development of the country, early saw the importance of a public highway connecting the Eastern coast fringe with the broad and undeveloped West. The Eastern coast cities were looking toward the West for increase of commercial business. The mountains quite effectually shut off communications between the sections. But west, between the Blue Ridge and the Mississippi River, even beyond, lay a vast territory covered with splendid forests, a fertile soil, magnificent lakes and splendid rivers—an empire of unoccupied territory; the great Ohio river with its tributaries flowing into the Mississippi, at the mouth of which was situated New Orleans, with its rapidly increasing population. This splendid territory was to be subdued and occupied by the courageous and thrifty pioneer. Indians yet occupied much of it. The entire possession was exposed to invasion from north and south, not to speak of the frequent uprisings of the savages. The protective power of the East was required. It was early impressed upon those having charge of national affairs that military necessity, as well as commercial prosperity, required easy modes of communication between the widely separated sections of the country. The purchase of new territory, extending the limits of our domain, emphasized the necessity of adopting the best means of securing it and utilizing its resources. This was to be a great country. It should be bound together with the strongest possible bonds. Nothing better could be devised than a great public highway, leading from the cities of the East across the mountain ranges,

first to the navigable waters of the Ohio, where water communication could be had with the South, and, second, on to the Mississippi river, where a small settlement already was established. In our day of great railroad systems, telegraph lines and steamboat navigation, this does not seem to be much of an enterprise, but to our fathers, with but a few million people behind them, with a treasury of limited means, it was an undertaking of magnificent proportions and lofty patriotism. It early enlisted the earnest attention and interest of the foremost men of the Nation.

PRELIMINARY STEPS.

As early as 1797 a resolution was introduced upon the subject, but nothing more was done at that time. By an act of Congress April 30, 1802, the people of Ohio were enabled to form a constitutional government. It was therein provided that 2 per cent. of the proceeds of the sales of public lands within her limits should be held and applied in the construction of a public highway leading from some point on the coast to a point within her borders. A like provision was made in the act admitting Indiana into the Union, reserving 2 per cent. of the proceeds of her public lands for similar purpose. The effect of these provisions never dawned upon the minds of those enacting the laws. Nevertheless they were very important and far-reaching, as will be seen later on. They may almost be said to have been providentially inserted, for, trivial as they seemed, they became the lever which the advocates of larger expenditures for internal improvements used in advocacy of the doctrine of implied power in the government under the Constitution for the appropriation of public moneys, and the doing by the government of many things, the power to do which was denied by some of the ablest men of the time. The Cumberland, or, as it is more properly known in this section, the National Road, was frequently the subject of acrimonious debate by the ablest men in Congress. It was the occasion of an able message from President Monroe, and, in connection with the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, entered largely into the campaign of 1824, and became an object of universal discussion East and West.

An act was approved March 29, 1806 (the first congressional action taken), to regulate the laying out and making a road

from Cumberland in the State of Maryland, the head waters of the Potomac, to the State of Ohio. The President was authorized to appoint three discreet and disinterested citizens of the United States to lay out a road from Cumberland, or a point on the northern bank of the River Potomac in the State of Maryland between there and the place where the main road leading from Givins to Winchester in Virginia crosses the river, to the State of Ohio, whose duty it shall be, as soon as may be after their appointment, to repair to Cumberland aforesaid and view the grounds from the points on the River Potomac hereinbefore designated to the River there, and to lay out in such direction as they shall judge under all the circumstances the most proper, a road from thence to the Ohio river, to strike the same at the most convenient place between a point on its eastern bank opposite to the northern boundary of Steubenville in said State of Ohio and the mouth of Grave creek, which empties into the said river a little below Wheeling, Va. It should be four rods wide and designated on each side by marks on trees or by stakes at every quarter mile. The commission should report to the President, who might accept or reject in whole or in part the report. If he should accept, he should pursue such measures as in his opinion should be proper to obtain consent for making the road of the State or States through which the same was laid out.

The act further provides: "In case the trees are standing they shall be cleared the whole width of four rods (sixty-five feet) and the road shall be raised in the middle of the carriage way with stone, earth or gravel and sand, or a combination of some or all of them, leaving or making, as the case may be, a ditch or water course on each side and contiguous to said carriage way, and in no instance should there be an elevation in said road when finished greater than an angle of 5 degrees with the horizon. But the manner of making said road, in every other particular, is left to the direction of the President" (a rather grave responsibility). Thirty thousand dollars was appropriated "to defray the expense of laying and making roads to the State of Ohio by virtue of the act of 1802." There was no provision in this act for the exercise of the right of eminent domain. There seems to have been no necessity for such pro-

vision, for we learn from the report of the commissioners that everybody wanted the road to come his way. But one man refused to join the government in the appointment of appraisers. He three times petitioned Congress for relief, but each committee to which his petition was referred reported against him, and finally he appealed to his own State, Virginia, but his petition was ignored.

PROGRESS REPORTED.

December 30, 1806, this commission made a report of progress, premising the report with the statement that "the duties imposed by law become of greater magnitude and a task much more arduous than was conceived before entering upon it." They had employed "a surveyor of professional merit" (sic), "two chain-carriers, a marker, one vaneman, a pack-horse man and a horse," the latter being described as indispensable and really beneficial in accelerating the work. They had examined a space "comprehending two thousand square miles, a task rendered still more incumbent by the solicitude and importunities of the inhabitants of every part of the district, who severally conceived their grounds entitled to preference."

The highest consideration governing the commission was, first, shortness of distance between navigable points on the eastern and western waters; second, a point on the Monongahela best calculated to equalize the advantage of this portage in the country within reach of it; third, a point on the Ohio river most capable of combining certainty of navigation with road accommodations, including in the estimate remote points westwardly, as well as present and probable population in the North and South; fourth, best method of diffusing benefits with the least distance of road.

The President had evidently been successful in selecting discreet and disinterested citizens. They seem to have done their work diligently and with an eye single to their duties under the law. They fixed the starting point at Cumberland, "a decision founded on propriety and in some measure on necessity." It ended at a point below the mouth of Wheelen's creek and the lower part of Wheelen's island. The route was twenty-four and a half miles in Maryland, seventy-five and a half miles

in Pennsylvania and twelve miles in Virginia. There was much contention between Brownsville and Uniontown, Pa., for the road, but the latter secured the prize. The commissioners were looking to further extensions of the road, for they say in locating the road through Brownsville it was seen that Wheeling lay in a line from Uniontown to the center of the State of Ohio and Post Vincennes. The latter was then territorial capital, the home of General Harrison, and swelling with prospects of future greatness. In this same year Vincennes University was liberally endowed with lands by Congress, and the progressive citizens of the post that year formed a library association which in a few years accumulated a library of most excellent books, which now are the property of the university. Attention throughout the country was much attracted toward this point. Jefferson in his message to Congress conveying the report refers to this suggestion of conveying the road through Vincennes as passing through "a very interesting section of the country."

The commissioners estimated the expense of the construction of the road at \$6,000 per mile, and this conclusion was reached by recurring to the experience of Pennsylvania and Maryland in the business of artificial roads. As to the policy of increasing this expense, it is not, they say, the province of these commissioners to declare, but they can not, however, withhold assurances of a firm belief that the purse of the Nation can not be more seasonably opened or more happily applied than in promoting the speedy and effectual establishment of a great and necessary road in the way contemplated.

JEFFERSON'S ACTION.

In January, 1807, Mr. Jefferson, in a message to Congress, transmitted the report of these commissioners. He says: "On receipt of the report I took measures to obtain consent for making the road of the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, through which the commissioners proposed to lay it out. I have received acts of the legislatures of Maryland and Virginia giving the consent desired. That of Pennsylvania has the subject still under consideration, as is supposed. Until I have received consent to a free choice of route through the whole distance I have thought it safest neither to accept nor reject

finally the partial report of the commissioners. Some matters suggested in the report belong exclusively to the legislature." In February, 1808, Mr. Jefferson reported that he had received the consent of Pennsylvania and had consequently approved the route proposed to Uniontown, and then continues:

"From thence the course to the Ohio and the point within the legal limits at which it shall strike the river is still to be decided. In forming this decision I shall pay material regard to the interests and wishes of the populous parts of the State of Ohio and to a future and convenient connection with the road which is to lead from the Indiana boundary near Cincinnati by Vincennes to the Mississippi at St. Louis, under authority of the act of the 21st of April, 1806. In this way we may accomplish a continued and advantageous line of communication from the seat of the general government to St. Louis, passing through several very interesting parts of the Western country."

The government was gradually being committed to a general system of internal improvements. Much criticism was made of Jefferson. His course was justified upon the proposition that the government was pledged to the construction of this road by the reservation in the act admitting Ohio into the Union at 2 per cent. of the proceeds of sales of public lands within its limits. But in the above suggestion Mr. Jefferson was running ahead of this proposition, for as yet no provision as to Indiana and Illinois public lands had been made.

Nevertheless, this road to Wheeling was constructed and became a great thoroughfare. Mr. Mitchell, of Maryland, in 1823, in a report on the practicability of connecting the Susquehanna with the Ohio, says: "It has been estimated that in the year 1823 there were, on an average, 2,555 wagoners employed in the transportation of merchandise from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh alone; that they carried 89,425 hundred-weight, which was valued at \$17,885,000. From Baltimore, in the same year, merchandise to the value of \$12,000,000 was transported over this highway."

The West was growing rapidly in population and political power. In 1816 Indiana was admitted to the Union, and 2 per cent. of the proceeds of the sales was reserved for the construction of this road. Illinois was rapidly increasing in population,

while the great territory west of the Mississippi was opening up grandly to the vision of the home-seekers. The people were growing impatient for means of intercommunication between them and those of the East. The spirit of internal improvement popularly known as the "American system" was rapidly growing, but the pioneers were poor and the States hardly yet organized. The pressure upon the government for more rapid action was great.

DIFFERENCE OF OPINION.

In the meantime division became more acute among statesmen as to the power of the federal government to collect and expend money in such enterprises. As early as 1815 the somewhat exuberant Madison in a message to Congress refers to the great importance of establishing throughout the country the roads and canals which can be best executed under national authority. "No objects," he says, "within the circle of political economy so richly repay the expense bestowed on them; there are none the utility of which is more universally ascertained and acknowledged; none that do more honor to the government whose wise and enlarged patriotism duly appreciate them. Nor is there any country which presents a field where nature invites more the art of man to contemplate her own work for his accommodation and benefit. These considerations are strengthened, moreover, by the political effect of these facilities for intercommunication in bringing and binding more closely together the various parts of our extended confederacy. While the States individually, with a laudable enterprise and emulation, avail themselves of their local advantages by new roads, by navigable canals and by improving the streams susceptible of navigation, the general government is the better adapted to similar undertakings requiring a national jurisdiction and national means, by the prospect of thus systematically completing so inestimable a work; and it is a happy reflection that any defect of constitutional authority which may be encountered can be supplied in a mode which the Constitution itself has providently pointed out."

This latter suggestion evidently meant an amendment to the Constitution. A resolution was introduced in Congress looking

to that result, but was voted down by those who believed that the implied powers under the Constitution were sufficiently broad to warrant such expenditures. The West was unwilling to wait the slow method of constitutional amendment.

The thirteen States which had entered into the League of Confederation occupied territorial possessions upon the Atlantic stretched out upon a coast line greater in length than fifteen degrees of latitude. Each desired a commerce of its own upon the ocean, and such methods of developing its internal resources as were dictated by the varieties of soil and climate, and by the habits and customs of the inhabitants.

It is strange to us that there was no national effort to construct a great highway along the coast, connecting the great cities along it, uniting New England and the South. The failure can be accounted for only upon the theory that each State was jealous of its own possessions, of its own development. State pride, or, as we term it, State rights, diverted the national energies in the directions of those regions the trade and commerce of which were open to all, where to subdue the Indians and to open up new territories for a rapidly accumulating population might be found a common ground of action. Thus along the line of the National Road, over the mountains into the vast and virgin forests of Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky, the star of empire took its course. Even here there were encountered difficulties arising from the necessity for passing through the States of Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania. Special acts of consent by these States were required to permit the location and construction of the road. As we have already seen, Mr. Jefferson refused to proceed to any steps until these acts had been passed.

A PERPLEXING QUESTION.

The more perplexing question in the way of completing the enterprise was, had Congress the power to appropriate the public money for carrying on a general system of internal improvements? This question had been growing in importance for a number of years. It entered into political discussions and divided the people. Both Jefferson and Monroe had used public funds in the acquisition of territory, Jefferson in the purchase

of Louisiana Territory from France, and Monroe of Florida from Spain. Both purchases were opposed by many able men upon constitutional grounds. So that when Congress, in 1822, passed an act authorizing the expenditure of further public funds for the further extension of the Cumberland or National Road, the act was met by a veto from Mr. Monroe. Mr. Monroe had belonged to the school of strict constructionists. He was opposed to the rule followed by Washington, with the support of Hamilton, "That congressional power was not limited by the express grants of the Constitution, but that it included such implied powers as were necessary to execute the express powers." He was more inclined to follow the "strict construction" theory of Jefferson and Madison. "His veto message," says Colonel Thompson, "was the longest and most labored ever sent to Congress, and subjected him to severe criticism, especially in the West, where the sentiment in favor of the road was very strong. He was charged with inconsistency in using public funds for the purchase of Florida, as Jefferson had in the purchase of Louisiana, and yet was willing so to restrict the powers of the government in regard to internal improvements that the country should be left dependent upon the State alone, without any aid whatever from the general government." Colonel Thompson adds: "The new States interested in the Cumberland road were occupied by an industrious population, engaged in clearing away the forests, in order to make their lands more productive and profitable, and were consequently not in condition to be taxed by the States, even for improvements absolutely necessary for local purposes. They reasoned that if the national government possessed the power to acquire foreign territory, or to exercise ownership over the public domain within the States, it must necessarily and logically possess also the incidental power to make interstate improvements, in order thereby to induce emigration from the old to the new States, to increase the value and sales of the public lands, and to add to the general prosperity."

It is to be said to the credit of Mr. Monroe that he modified his views, and even in his veto message he says: "It is contended on the one side that as the national government is a government of limited powers, it has no right to expend money

except in the performance of acts authorized by the other specific grants, according to a strict construction of their powers; that this grant, in neither of its branches, gives to Congress discretionary power of any kind, but it is a mere instrument in its hands to carry into effect the powers contained in the other grants. To this construction I was inclined in the more early stage of our government, but on further reflection and observation my mind has undergone a change."

Even thus early we find that the national development and extension of population, with new necessities, were effecting in the minds of new statesmen a change of views as to the powers conferred by the Constitution. We can but wonder how the face of things would be changed had the trend of thought in the direction of limiting the powers of the government to those expressly conferred prevailed, when we recall the vast sums expended in various ways for the extension of commerce, the building of canals, improvement of rivers and harbors, irrigating waste lands and the construction of vast railways. What an economy the other view would have brought to the people; but with what inconvenience and obstruction to development of the country can not be described.

MONROE'S VETO.

I make bold to copy one paragraph from this veto message of Mr. Monroe. While we have great respect for the ability and patriotism of our early statesmen, from our position of vast acquirements and splendid facilities for transportation we are somewhat amused at the arguments used by them and the illustrations with which they were illuminated. He is speaking of the constitutional provision for establishing post-offices and post roads, and says:

"The object is the transportation of the mail throughout the United States, which may be done on horseback, and was so done until lately. Between the great towns and other places where the population is dense, stages are preferred because they afford an additional opportunity to make profit from passengers; but where the population is sparse, and on crossroads, it is generally carried on horseback, unconnected with passengers and other objects. It can not be doubted that the mail itself

may be carried in every part of our Union with nearly as much economy and greater dispatch on horseback than in a stage, and in many parts with much greater. In every part of the country in which stages can be preferred the roads are sufficiently good, provided those which serve for every other purpose will accommodate them. In every other part where horses alone are used, if other people pass them on horseback, surely the mail carriers can. For an object so simple and so easy in its execution it would doubtless excite surprise if it should be thought proper to appoint commissioners to lay off the country in a great scheme of improvement, with the power to shorten distances, reduce heights, level mountains and pave surfaces."

In view of our great expenditures and the splendid facilities for distributing the mail now enjoyed, this carries a high flavor of humor. Yet it is part of one of the ablest messages ever sent to Congress by a President of the United States. The question of the power of the government to make internal improvements became the dividing line between political parties, and the presidential campaign of 1824 was fought out upon it, the Cumberland road and the Chesapeake & Ohio canal being most under discussion. It appeared in the courts, and the great doctrine of the implied power of Congress, under the Constitution, to make enactments and expenditures of public funds for which there was no express authority in its provisions was finally judicially declared by Chief Justice John Marshall, in the case of *McCulloch vs. The State of Maryland*, in which it was decided that the State of Maryland could not tax the shares of the stock in the United States Bank because it was prohibited from doing so by the act establishing the bank.

THE QUESTION IN CONGRESS.

There was scarcely a session of Congress from 1815 to 1846 in which the Cumberland road was not under discussion. It was always asking appropriations for surveys, construction and repairs. Every inch of it was fought over time and again. It was the subject of ridicule as well as oratorical flights. The ablest men of any time and country discussed its merits. It was spoken of as this noble monument of our enterprise and industry, this great artery of communication between the East and the

West, so essential to our intercourse and our prosperity. But the spirit of progress and material development usually came out victorious, winning its way against adverse majorities by some hook or crook. Mr. Barbour, of Virginia, who was opposed to the extension of the powers of the federal government beyond the constitutional limits, at one time said: "The only question is, shall we enjoy it or from fastidious technicality refuse it? To appropriate money out of the public treasury to keep it in repair is unjust and involves as strongly the constitutional question. The circumstances of this case being peculiar, this measure can not be considered as a precedent in reference to the general question." So he voted for the bill, as did others, and it passed. Whether the fact that Virginia by a legislative act had authorized the government to complete, establish and regulate this road as to them might seem proper, affected his vote can not now be told. But thus it was that the powers of the general government grew, little by little, local and personal interests often having a large influence, until not only a national road and canals, but a national banking system was finally projected and carried into effect; and the foundations of the great American Republic were laid firm and deep—a continent in a hundred years has been subdued, unpreceded progress and development followed. The wonder of all generations is now the great American people.

John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war, communicated to the House of Representatives a very lengthy letter on roads and canals, "With a View to Military Operations in Times of War." In it he says: "A judicious system of roads and canals constructed for the convenience of commerce and the transportation of the mail only, without any reference to military operations, is of itself among the most efficient means for the more complete defense of the United States. Such a system, by consolidating our Union, increasing our wealth and fiscal capacity, would add greatly to our resources of war." He then suggests a vast system of roads to be laid out and constructed under the supervision of the Department of War, and that the engineers of the army be used in surveying and the soldiers be utilized in constructing them. This suggestion was not followed. Mr. Hemphill says: "It is curious to witness the alarm which is occasionally excited

concerning the exercise of constructive powers when Congress is never in session a week without acting upon them. We have only to look at the statute books for instances, as the law relating to fugitives who are held to labor in any of the slave States, the laws regulating the carrying of mail, the Bank of the United States, the Military Academy, light houses, post houses and trading houses among the Indians; all are creations of constitutional powers. So are the laws relating to revenue cutters, the navy hospital, pension and gratuitous grants of money, and in the same class may be placed laws concerning vaccination and for the civilization of the vine. Yes, Mr. Chairman, we not only make laws which are the mere offspring of constructive powers, but we enforce them by high penalties and the infliction of punishment of death."

SECTIONAL FEELING.

It was proposed by a bill in 1817 to use the dividends from the shares in the bank of the United States for twenty years, which was the period of the charter, in the further extension and repair of the Cumberland road. It passed both Houses, but was vetoed by President Madison.

The feeling between the West and the East at times grew very intense on this subject. In 1827, when the question was before the House upon appropriating sufficient funds for continuing the work, Mr. Johnson, of Kentucky, said: "I am sorry to perceive that the people of the West were obliged to contend, inch by inch, for every inch of ground they obtained in this road. For twenty years they had been begging for little by little, and now, after the completion of the Cumberland road had been settled as a principle, they were opposed by the same opposition as had been made at first. The Western members were never backward in voting for fortifications and other improvements on the seaboard, and it was a hardship; the objects for the good of the Western States were uniformly opposed." (Congressional Debates, Volume 3.)

In the same debate Mr. Noble, of Indiana, said, speaking at "considerable length": "The provision in the act of 1821 was inserted for the same reason that the 2 per cent. was filched from the Western States to make the road through Pennsylvania

and Virginia to Ohio. The gentleman from Pennsylvania was very willing that the work should stop, because the road through his own State was finished. The United States had taken the money and had undertaken to build the road, and now the benefits were withheld from the Western States because they were not sufficiently strong to enforce their rights, but (in a defiant mood) they would hereafter be able to claim them, and their fathers of the old States would be forced to yield them justice." He wished to know what authority the United States had to take the money of the States of the West and expend it to construct roads through two States, while the people in the forests were left to struggle through the swamps and morasses, yet whenever any relief was asked by the West they were met with constitutional scruples and difficulties.

The motion to strike out the appropriation was rejected and the West was victorious; \$30,000 was appropriated for the repair and maintenance of the road.

December 31, 1827, Mr. Noble introduced a bill for a continuation of the Cumberland road, which he prefaced by remarking that under the administration of Jefferson the first bill for the construction of the Cumberland road was passed, when Congress clearly held out to the people of the West that it should be continued. He wanted that pledge redeemed. The bill authorized the completion of the work to Zanesville, O., and provided for a survey to the seat of government of the State of Missouri.

In 1833 a bill was introduced to continue the road from Vandalia to Jefferson City, Mo. An amendment was offered by Mr. Benton to continue it thence to the western frontier of Missouri in the direction of the military post on the Missouri river above the mouth of Kansas (Fort Leavenworth), and to the intersection of the route for the commerce from Missouri to Santa Fe. He considered his amendment as "a link in the chain of the great road from Washington City to Santa Fe, the two ends of which had been either made or marked out by the federal government, and only the link in Missouri remaining to be filled up to complete the longest line of road made by any government since the time of the Roman empire. Benton's amendment was lost and the longest road did not materialize in the bill passed.

END OF THE ROAD.

The road was constructed, in many parts very imperfectly, through Indiana and as far as Vandalia, Ill. It could get no further. It had dragged its slow length along for nearly half a century. It was, however, finally overtaken by the steam railway and then ceased to exist as an object of national concern. This road was under discussion as late as in 1846. Upon this occasion the celebrated Georgian, Mr. Yancey, said:

"When the project of the Cumberland road was first conceived, it was needed as a great highway for the trade and produce of the fertile west to find an outlet on the Atlantic coast. The mountains intervened between the Ohio valley and the Atlantic coast. Steam, not then in such general use as now, had not rendered the upper Ohio navigable; railroads had not clamped as now with iron bands the trembling earth. The rich produce of the soil found its way to market over rough roads upon the lumbering wagons, and the traveler when jolted over them at the rate of sixty miles a day considered himself as doing a good day's work. How different now! The broad Ohio is navigable by hundreds of floating palaces, propelled against its current by fire-breathing engines. The mountains are pierced by railroads and canals. * * * Why, sir, men are behind the times with this old road. The spirit of the age is onward. Thirty miles an hour on land; a thousand miles a minute on Professor Morse's wires is deemed ordinary speed. On this road, my friend from Indiana (Mr. Owen), informs me that during parts of the year he has been able to make but two miles an hour on horseback."

In 1848 an act was passed surrendering to the State of Indiana the Cumberland road. Mr. Hannegan, of Indiana, introduced the bill in the Senate. It was accepted by the State. Similar action was taken with reference to those portions in other States, and the "National Road" was no longer a federal institution.

THE ROAD IN INDIANA.

By an act of the General Assembly of Indiana, approved January 16, 1849, the Central Plank Road Company was incorporated. The commissioners named in this act were Nicholas McCarty, William Morrison, William Robson, Jeremiah Johnson and J. F.

Oaks, of Marion county; John Templin, Nathan Crawford and David S. Gooding, of Hancock county; Jesse Hockett, Joseph Lawhead and George Kneigh, of Hendricks county, and William Eaglesfield, David Scott and Gilmore Connelly, of Putnam county. By Section 17 of this act it is provided as follows:

“Section 17. This corporation is hereby empowered to take possession of, occupy and use, for the purpose of constructing a plank road thereon, all that portion of road known as ‘the National Road,’ together with the bridges, timber, stone, gravel or other materials now belonging to said road, lying between the eastern line of the county of Hancock and the western line of the county of Putnam; and all the rights and privileges heretofore belonging to the United States in regard to such part of said National Road, and which have been surrendered to the State of Indiana, be and the same are hereby transferred to and vested in said company for the purposes contemplated in this act; provided, that the president, directors and company of the Terre Haute & Richmond Railroad Company, or any other railroad, shall have the right and power of locating and constructing said railroad across said plank road and of recrossing the same at such points as shall be convenient or necessary, doing no injury to the same more than is absolutely necessary.”

And thus ended the National Road in Indiana.

It had not realized the full importance hoped for it by its early projectors. It did not equal the construction and splendor of the renowned roads of the Roman empire and the Incas. Nevertheless, its history is a proud one. It served a great purpose. Over its rough way there traveled from civilization into a new and unsubdued country the sturdy and courageous pioneer. The extent to which it aided in the development of our great country can never be fully written. It was a noble monument to the courage and lofty patriotism of the fathers of the country.

MATTER RELATING TO NATIONAL ROAD IN INDIANA.

OF works that treat of this great National enterprise as a whole may be mentioned:

"The Old Pike," by T. B. Searight.

"The Cumberland Road," by Archer Butler Hulbert. No. 10 of the series: "Historic Highways of America."

"The Old National Road—a Chapter of Expansion," by A. B. Hulbert. Monograph, with cuts and maps.

"The Old National Road—the Historic Highway of America," by A. B. Hulbert. 113 pp. in Vol. IX of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society publications.

The most elaborate account we have of the National Road is in "The Old Pike," a volume by T. B. Searight. Of its history at the eastern end, with the currents of life that flowed over it there for many years, he makes a most picturesque and readable story, but of that part that ran through Indiana but little is said, and we have, indeed, some difficulty in unearthing information about this section. Searight tells us that the length of the line through Indiana is $149\frac{1}{4}$ miles, on which the general government expended \$513,099 for bridges and masonry; that the road was completed through Wayne county in 1827, and that in 1850 this section of it was surrendered to the Wayne County Turnpike Company. Something like a score of taverns were located within the bounds of Wayne county alone, which may be taken as something of an index to the amount of travel over this road. State Geologist Blatchley, in his annual report for 1905, gives the various appropriations for the work in this State, as follows:

March 2, 1831, \$75,000 for opening, grading, etc., including bridge over White river near Indianapolis, and progressing to the eastern and western boundaries.

July 3, 1832, \$100,000 for continuing the road in Indiana, including bridges over the east and west branches of Whitewater river.

March 2, 1833, \$100,000 to continue the work in Indiana.

June 24, 1834, \$150,000 for continuing the work in Indiana.

March 3, 1835, \$100,000 for continuing the work in Indiana.

July 2, 1836, \$250,000 for continuing the road in Indiana, including the materials for a bridge over the Wabash river, the money to be expended in completing the greatest possible continuous portion of said road, so that said finished part may be surrendered to the State.

March 3, 1837, \$100,000 for continuing the road in Indiana,

May 25, 1838, \$150,000 for continuing the road in Indiana, including bridges.

"About this date," says Mr. Blatchley, "the panic of 1837-'40 was being felt and no more appropriations were granted. In 1848 the road was turned over to the respective States through which it passed. Of the total amount, \$6,824,919, appropriated by Congress for making, repairing and continuing the road, but \$1,136,600 was allotted to Indiana, and this sum was paid from the fund reserved when the State was admitted to the Union. Of this amount nearly one-half, or \$513,099, was expended for bridges and masonry. * * * In 1850 the Wayne County Turnpike Company was organized and absorbed, under a charter granted by the State, that portion of the road, twenty-two miles in length, within that county. This company then graveled the road and operated it as a toll road until 1890-'94, when it was purchased by the several townships through which it passed and made free from tolls. From Wayne county westward the road passed through Henry, Hancock, Marion, Hendricks, Putnam, Clay and Vigo counties. That portion in Henry county was secured by a private corporation, graveled, and made a toll road about 1853. In 1849 the Central Plank Road Company, composed of prominent citizens of Marion and Hendricks counties, was granted that portion of the road extending from the east line of Hancock county to the west line of Putnam, for the purpose of constructing a plank road. With the granting of it to these several corporations the old National Road as a public institution, fostered by the nation or the State, ceased to be. It had fulfilled its high purpose and was superseded by better things which owed to it their coming."

George Carey Eggleston, writing recently for the *Youth's Companion*, says:

"The road from Cumberland to Wheeling had cost six thousand dollars a mile, without counting the cost of bridges. From the Ohio forward into the West about three thousand dollars a mile—and much less as the road advanced—sufficed. On the eastern division the road was paved six inches deep in broken stone; every little brook was bridged by a stone culvert, and every mile of the road was drained by two deep ditches, one on each side of it. West of the Ohio the only work done was to clear away the timber, grub up the stumps and dig ditches. There was no thought of a stone coating to the roadway, and no thought of anything else except to open a track over which wagons might be hauled through the mud. Here and there in creek bottom lands the road was corduroyed."

Mr. Benjamin S. Parker, in J. J. Piatt's *Ohio Valley Annual*, "The Hesperian Tree," for 1903, gives this vivid description of travel on the old road "as seen and studied by a little boy in eastern Indiana, in the eighteen-forties":

"From morning till night there was a continual rumble of wheels, and, when the rush was greatest, there was never a minute that wagons were not in sight, and as a rule, one company of wagons was closely followed by another.

* * * * *

"Many families occupied two or more of the big road wagons then in use, with household goods and their implements, while extra horses, colts, cattle, sheep and sometimes hogs were led or driven behind. Thus, when five or ten families were moving in company, the procession of wagons, men, women, children and stock was quite lengthy and imposing. The younger women often drove the teams, while the men and boys walked by turns, to drive and look after the stock; and now and then there would be an old-fashioned carriage, set upon high wheels to go safely over stumps and through streams. The older women and little children occupied these, and went bobbing up and down on the great leather springs which were the fashion sixty years ago.

"But everybody did not travel in that way. Single families, occupying only a single one or two-horse wagon or cart, fre-

quently passed along, seeming as confident and hopeful as the others; while even the resolute family, the members of which carried their worldly possessions upon their backs or pushed them forward in hand-wagons, was not an unfamiliar spectacle to the little boys who watched by the way.

"The wagons, horses and other belongings of the movers were fair indications, not only of their worldly condition and intelligence, but also of the sections from whence they came. The great Pennsylvania wagons, with their elaborately panelled beds, running up high in front and rear, were also used by the better-to-do Virginians and Carolinians, with this difference, that the Pennsylvania wagons were very large and often drawn by four or six fine horses, well matched for size and color, while the Virginians and Carolinians seldom drove more than two horses. A company of these well-to-do movers with their great wagons, large, well-groomed horses in heavy harness, glittering with brass-headed rivets, rings and other ornaments, with bows of melodious bells, either above the points of the hames or upon the heavy backbands, and with great housings of bearskin covering the shoulders and red plumes nodding from the head-gear, was a sight that the small boy put down in his book of memory, never to be forgotten.

"Very different from these were the little Southern carts, drawn by the little, bony Southern horses. It is a matter of tradition that numbers of these little Carolina wagons and carts were wrought of the tough young oak timber that grew upon the old fields of the South, and that the wood was so tenacious of fiber and the vehicles so well constructed by the rural wagon-makers, that they stood up through the journey over the mountains and along the roughest of roads without the aid of so much as an iron nail, and without tires or any kind of metal brace. The feet of the horses or mules that drew them were also guiltless of iron, and the children in the villages and upon the farms were quick to discover the arrival of a new Carolina family by the tracks of the tireless wheels and shoeless horses.

* * * * *

"With the tinkling of the bells, the rumbling of the wheels, the noise of the animals and the chatter of the people as they went forever forward, the little boy who had gone to the road

from his lonesome home in the woods was captivated and carried away into the great active world. But the greatest wonder and delight of all was the stage-coach, radiant in new paint and drawn by its four matched horses in their showy harness, and filled inside and on top with well-dressed people. I think yet that there has never been a more graceful or handsome turnout than one of these fine old stage-coaches drawn by a splendid team of matched horses, and driven by such drivers as used to handle the ribbons between Richmond and Indianapolis. We could hear the driver playing his bugle as he approached the little town, and it all seemed too grand and fine to be other than a dream."

In March, 1906, just one hundred years after the first Congressional action taken on the road, an attempt was made to get through Congress a bill "to authorize the restoration of the Cumberland road by the Government of the United States and providing for its reconstruction and maintenance" (see *Indianapolis News* for March 30, 1906). About the same time (see *News*, March 27), the question was raised between the Hancock county commissioners and the Indianapolis & Eastern Traction Company as to the real ownership of the road at the present day. According to the investigations of William A. Hughes, an attorney of Greenfield, the portion of the highway in that county was transferred first to the State, then to the Central Plank Road Company, then to Barney B. Gray, then to James P. Foley. During the Civil War the road was practically abandoned, and it became a question as to whether the title did not pass to the land-owners on either side of the way. This question, we believe, has never been settled.

MEMORIALS, REPORTS, ETC., RELATING TO THE NATIONAL ROAD IN
INDIANA, TO BE FOUND IN THE FEDERAL PUBLICATIONS,
GIVEN IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

1. Report on memorial from Indiana on location of Cumberland road through that State. 3 pp. 1826. Senate Documents, volume 3, number 59.
2. Memorial expressive of the advantages resulting from the Cumberland road and of the desire for its completion. 6 pp. 1828. Senate Docs., v. 4, No. 111.
3. Commissioners for locating National Road. 18 pp. 1828.

Senate Docs., v. 3, No. 99. 4. Memorial in relation to the Cumberland road in the State. 2 pp. 1830. House Reports v. 1, No. 174. 5. On the continuing of the Cumberland road in Ohio and Indiana. 9 pp. 1830. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 63. 6. Report relative to progress made in the construction and repair of the Cumberland road. 18 pp. 1833. Senate Docs., v. 1, No. 31. 7. Report of agent appointed to inspect the Cumberland road in Indiana. 42 pp. 1834. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 45. 8. Report on the condition of the Cumberland road in Illinois and Indiana. 10 pp. 1835. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 19. 9. Report relative to the construction of a bridge over Wabash river at crossing of Cumberland road. 7 pp. 1835. Senate Docs., v. 1, No. 10. 10. Resolution to obtain further appropriations for the Cumberland road in the State. 2 pp. 1836. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 125. 11. Report of House Committee on change of National Road between Springfield, O., and Richmond Ind. 32 pp. 1836. House Rep'ts, v. 2, No. 367. 12. Report on continuation of Cumberland road in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. 7 pp. House Rep'ts, v. 3, No. 671. 13. Memorial praying the early completion of the Cumberland road within the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. 2 pp. 1837. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 119. 14. Memorial of citizens of Indianapolis and vicinity in relation to the Cumberland road (Report on). 6 pp. 1837. House Rep'ts, v. 4, No. 1063. 15. Memorial praying the speedy completion of the Cumberland road within the State. 2 pp. 1838. Senate Docs., v. 3, No. 180. 16. Memorial praying an appropriation for the completion of the Cumberland road within the State. 2 pp. 1840. Senate Docs., v. 6, No. 310 (26-1). 17. Resolution in relation to the completion of Cumberland road. 4 pp. 1841. Senate Docs., v. 4, No. 197. 18. Memorial praying an appropriation for the completion of the National Road in the State. 2 pp. 1842. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 32. 19. Report on completion of Cumberland road. 35 pp. 1846. House Rep'ts, v. 2, No. 211. 20. Report on completion of Cumberland road. 47 pp. 1848. House Rep'ts, v. 1, No. 99. 21. Resolution relative to the National Road. 1 p. 1848. Senate Misc. Docs., v. 1, No. 111.

All of the above material may be found in the State Library.

THE MICHIGAN ROAD.

THE Michigan road is, in a sense, a monument to the white man's shrewdness in his dealings with the red man. By the Mississinewa treaty of 1826 a goodly portion of northern Indiana was transferred to the United States for a price that would at this day, perhaps, be equivalent to a few city lots, and the following clear gift, specified in Article II of the treaty, was secured by way of good measure. The article reads:

"As an evidence of the attachment which the Pottawattamie tribe feel toward the American people, and particularly to the soil of Indiana, and with a view to demonstrate their liberality and benefit themselves by creating facilities for traveling and increasing the value of their remaining country, the said tribe do hereby cede to the United States a strip of land, connecting at Lake Michigan and running thence to the Wabash river, one hundred feet wide, for a road; and also one section of good land contiguous to said road for each mile of the same and also for each mile of a road from termination thereof, through Indianapolis, to some convenient point on the Ohio river. And the General Assembly of the State of Indiana shall have a right to locate the said road and apply the said sections, or the proceeds thereof, to the making of the same, or any part thereof; and the said road shall be at their sole disposal."

The hand of the beneficiaries would seem to be very plain in this. Why the Pottawattamie Indians should feel an especial attachment to the American people, who were gradually pushing them off the earth, and how they were to be benefited by an inlet, the sole purpose of which was to facilitate the oncoming of the usurpers, and how, by the light of previous land transfers, the value of their remaining country would be enhanced to them, make a series of queries that need not be discussed here. Suffice it to say that from this gift of land the Michigan Road was built, the sales of land about balancing the cost of the road.* The work, begun in 1828, was practically a decade in

*The total expenditure on the road up to 1840, when it ceased to appear in the Auditor's reports, is given as \$242,008.04, and the receipts as \$241,331.89, with several hundreds of acres of land still to be sold.

the building, and during that period occupied a prominent place in the public interest, as revealed by papers of the time and by its frequent recurrence in the Governor's messages and in legislation. Like the National Road, its chief service, besides the local one, was as a route for immigration, and as such it was an important thoroughfare in the peopling of the Wabash valley and the territory beyond, until the coming of the Wabash & Erie Canal, when its usefulness lapsed. This applies particularly to the northern portion of the road. Between Indianapolis and Madison, prior to the establishment of the Madison railroad, it was an important thoroughfare of traffic, affording the principal outlet for the capital.

The general direction of the Michigan Road is as follows: Beginning at Trail Creek, on Lake Michigan, the road runs easterly to the southern bend of the St. Joseph river; thence southward to the Wabash river, which it crosses; thence to Indianapolis; thence southeast to Greensburg; thence south again to Madison.†

ROAD IMPROVEMENTS IN INDIANA.

AS the establishment of roads in the beginning was an absolute necessity to the settlement of the country, so the improvement of those roads, regardless of other systems of transportation, was essential to its welfare. We have already noted the difficulties that attended the original opening of the roads and their limited usefulness when opened. The improvements of the earlier day, despite the funds expended upon them and the unpaid labor of practically the whole male population, amounted to but little toward making the highways travelable except at certain seasons, and consisted almost wholly of cleaning the way, scraping up into the middle dirt that became mud when it got wet, and the laying of "corduroy" or supporting poles across the bottomless places. Even at the present day, with the country open, well-drained and comparatively dry, the ordinary dirt road is a vexatious makeshift, and when the for-

†"The Building of the Michigan Road," by Ethel L. Montgomery, is, we believe, the fullest study of this road that has been published. A long treatise by Mr. R. B. Oglesbee, of Laporte, exists in manuscript form.

est-encumbered land was saturated like a sponge for the larger part of the year, its drawbacks were tenfold. The only really serviceable material that was utilized at all was macadam, or broken stone, but the inaccessibility of this, except in a comparatively few localities, made it wholly impracticable over a major part of the State's area, though certain highways included in the internal improvement scheme were to be built of it.

How seriously road improvement affected public welfare is evidenced by our legislation. From the road law of 1820, which authorized the opening up of an extensive system of thoroughfares, on through the decades, there was scarcely a session but road laws were enacted, adding to, modifying or repealing preceding statutes. It is, perhaps, an added argument against paternalism that no really effective improvement was accomplished until the State's efforts were succeeded by private enterprise. This change was contemporaneous with the introduction of the plank road idea. This innovation appears to have originated in Russia, to have found its way thence into Canada, and from there into parts of the United States lying contiguous to Canada. In a country where timber was not merely abundant, but an actual encumbrance, the conversion of this timber into a solid road as smooth as a floor was a captivating proposition, and the fever caught and spread. In no place was there better reason for its spreading than in Indiana, and accordingly for nearly ten years (through the fifties) we had the plank road era. The promise of immediate returns was, presumably, sufficient to attract capital, and the State very wisely handed over the new movement to the capitalists. From 1848 we find laws authorizing corporations to take possession of the existing roads, to convert them into plank roads, and to erect and maintain toll-houses for revenue along the same. In 1850 one of these companies, organized to build a plank road from New Harmony to Mt. Vernon, in Posey county, sent Robert Dale Owen to western New York to investigate the roads already in operation there, and the result was the publication of a small book containing a mass of information upon the subject.* There were various widths and methods of laying in the construction of

*Owen on "Plank Roads," New Albany, 1850.

these roads, but that recommended by Owen was eight feet wide, formed of planks two and a half to four inches thick laid crosswise on long mud-sills, and well spiked down. The cost of this material he estimated at \$938.08 to \$1,689.60 per mile, according to thickness of planks. The labor item is a party of twelve or fourteen hands with teams for plowing, scraping, rolling, etc., and these should lay from thirty to forty rods per day, at an expense of perhaps \$200 per mile. The approximate total cost of a road built of three-inch white oak planks is given as \$2,000 per mile.

While Owen, with the bias of an advocate, perhaps, figures that a white oak road would do good service for at least twelve years, as a matter of fact those constructed in this State would seem to be much shorter of life. Within ten years the decadence had plainly set in, for a law of 1859 prohibits the collection of tolls on roads that are not kept up, and about this time plank road legislation disappears from the statutes. The difficulty was not only decay, but the warping and working loose of the planks.

In 1858 we find the first statutory mention of gravel roads, and the introduction of this material, presumably about that time, was the beginning of a possible permanent excellence. Why it was not earlier used is not easy to learn, but it is probable that prior to the clearing up of the country, when the drift-choked, forest-environed streams flowed with a fuller volume, gravel bars were at once much less in evidence, and much less accessible than at a later day. Construction with this new material went on under private enterprise, the State became well traversed with toll roads, and the ubiquitous little toll-house, with its long sweep pole, is still fresh in the memories of most of us.

The next turn in legislation was a provision (as early as 1879) for the county control of free turnpikes and the authorization of tax levies for that purpose. Under these laws the improved roads have, one by one, been bought up by the several counties, and the abolishment of the tollgate is becoming general.

NORTHERN INDIANA IN 1829.

From the Indiana Republican (Madison), January 7, 1829.

MR. EDITOR: The writer of this has spent some days of the last month examining the country on the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, the Wabash and Kankikee. This country, except the Kankikee, is embraced in the purchase made this fall from the Pottawatamies.

We set out from Fort Wayne, a northwesterly direction for the St. Joseph of the Lake. The first twenty miles after leaving the Fort, the country is mostly covered with a heavy forest of timber; but a small portion of the soil is of good quality for farming. After passing Blue-grass creek, we passed a few miles of country, the land of an inferior quality, thinly timbered with oak and hickory, interspersed with a number of small lakes, from which flows to the southwest the head branch of the Tippecanoe river; we then entered the Elk-heart bottom; this bottom is about eight miles wide, soil and timber of the best quality. Elk-heart creek is a fine, boatable stream, running northwest, and the depth of the water (above the knees of our horses) affording a sufficiency at the dryest season for all kinds of machinery. After crossing this creek we entered the Elk-heart prairie, about six miles long and from two to four wide, soil of the best quality. Along the southwest margin of this beautiful prairie flows the Elk-heart creek, on the north bank of which, and in the prairie, is the site of Five Medals village, well known to our soldiers of the late war as the residence of the Pottawatamie war chief, Five Medals. This creek unites with the St. Joseph a few miles south of the line dividing Indiana and Michigan Territory, and near this point is also the entrance from the north of a large creek, which flows from Pleasant lake in Michigan Territory; at the junction of these waters is a fine town site, possessing the advantages of being surrounded by a fine country of good land, and on the bank of the St. Joseph river, which is a deep, boatable stream, affording plenty of water for keel-boat navigation from this point to the lake at all seasons of the year—distance 75 to 100 miles by the river.

Twenty miles below the mouth of Elk-heart is the southern bend of the St. Joseph. At this place the American Fur Company have an establishment to carry on trade with the Indians; it is situated on a high, dry plain, affording a very handsome and extensive site for a village; through this place, the road, as lately laid off from Lake Michigan to Indianapolis, passes, affording it the advantage of a road south to the Wabash, as well as the river northwest to the lake, at all times navigable, with a good harbor for the largest lake vessels, and a safe bay at its entrance into the lake, and also a high and beautiful site for a town on the margin of the lake at the mouth of the river.

From the southern bend of the St. Joseph we traveled west to Lake Michigan; the country is dry and beautiful until we arrive within three or four miles of the lake, part rich barrens, and part first-rate timber land, with a large portion of prairie. We traveled part of the distance on the United States road, from Detroit to Chicago, this road which crosses the northern boundary of Indiana, about thirty miles east of Lake Michigan, and continues parallel with and near the north line of Indiana to the southern point of Lake Michigan. The tract of land through which this road passes was purchased from the Indians at the treaty of the Wabash, called the ten mile purchase, and as embraced between the north line of Indiana and the Kankikee river and ponds. This tract of land is perhaps surpassed by no other for beauty and fertility of soil. There may be a scarcity of timber after it is settled. It is watered with some spring rivulets, and has many beautiful lakes from one-fourth to one and one-half miles in circumference, with dry banks, sand bottoms, clear, sweet water, that abound with fish of various kinds.

We traveled from Lake Michigan a southeasterly course, and descended a hill of more than one hundred feet, and soon found ourselves in the neighborhood of these celebrated Kankikee ponds. The river of that name rises near the center of Indiana, from east to west, and flows west through a low valley, which is from four to eleven miles wide, and in the spring is covered with water. After the summer season sets in the quantity of water decreases, but there remains a marsh or swamp which is said to be sixty miles in length from east to west, and impossible

at most places for man or horse to pass; the river crosses the line dividing Indiana and Illinois about thirty-five miles south of Lake Michigan, and uniting with the river *Aux-plaines*, from the Illinois river. The ponds above mentioned extend along the north side of the river beyond the State line. Most of the land on this river within Indiana is exceedingly poor. We crossed the Kankikee, which from its appearance we believed sufficiently large for boats to pass down it, from a point thirty or forty miles within the State of Indiana, part of the year. The trace on which we traveled led us southeast to Yellow river, a large branch of the Kankikee, within the country now owned by the Pottawatamies, and the whole distance between these rivers we saw no land suitable for farming, it being mostly wet prairie, or if timbered, with low black oak, and the soil of the most inferior quality. After crossing Yellow river and traveling about four miles, we passed a beautiful lake, from seven to ten miles in circumference, called by the Pottawatamie Indians Mix-in-kuk-kee. It is surrounded with rolling land of good quality and is formed from springs, and seems to occupy the highest summit between the Tippecanoe and Kankikee rivers. From it flows to the south a large creek, forming one of the principal branches of the former river, and distant from it about five miles. The lake will probably some day supply a feeder for a canal to connect the Wabash and Illinois rivers. From this lake we proceeded a short distance east and found the line of the Michigan Road, on which we traveled to the Wabash at the mouth of Eel river. Most of that country is good and susceptible of making a fine road. Should the legislature authorize, *as they most likely will*, the location of the donation of the Michigan Road in the prairie between the St. Joseph and Lake Michigan, and on the line of the United States road from Detroit to Chicago, it will sell for an immense sum of money, and within two or three years will form one of the best settlements in Indiana. The country lately purchased is susceptible of forming from three to five counties, and in five years after it is sold by the United States will have sufficient population to send an additional member to Congress.

A TRAVELER.

JOHN CONNER.

BY HIS GRANDDAUGHTER, MRS. SARAH C. CHRISTIAN.

My Grandfather Conner was associated with the earliest Indiana history. While it was still a territory he carried the dispatches from Ft. Washington, now Cincinnati, to Ft. Wayne, over an Indian trail, and with a Delaware guide. He was a member of the first legislature that met at Corydon. He was the founder of Connersville, and was the trusted friend and counselor of the red man.

When he first located at Connersville, he, with several other men, was building his cabin, which as yet had neither roof nor floor, when an emigrant wagon drew up and stopped, and the new-comer asked to be directed to Connersville. My Grandfather, standing in the door, laughed heartily and said, "My friend, you are right in the heart of the town."

Around this cabin was a heavy wall with a gate which fastened on the inside. This was for protection from the Indians. Grandfather had no fear of them, but they hated his white squaw.

One day when Grandmother and Jim, Grandfather's son by his Delaware squaw wife, who was then dead, were alone, the cabin was attacked by Indians. The gate had been accidentally left open, but they barred the door. Jim, terrified, hid under the bed, saying to Grandmother, "They will kill you, they have come to kill you. They are going to the top of the house and will come down the chimney." She told Jim to tell them that she would put a straw bed in the fireplace, and set fire to the first one who attempted it. Then they cut a large hole in the door and were going to crawl through, but Jim told them that she was standing by the door with the ax raised to chop off the head of the one who tried to come in. Grandfather came while they were there, and they all ran off as fast as they could go.

One Sunday evening while they were still living there, the chairs and stools of the cabin were all occupied by visiting neighbors when the girl who lived with Grandmother "had a beau." The embarrassed young man slipped back into a corner. There was a large dye kettle filled with blue dye, covered with

a cloth, standing there, and the young man sat down in it, falling in head and heels, in his tow linen suit. The last seen of him he was fleeing from the place like a blue streak in the moonlight. The expression, "went like a blue streak," may have originated in that incident.

An Indian council was held at Anderson at which Tecumseh was to preside. Grandfather, upon learning that Tecumseh could not be present, disguised himself to represent the great Shawnee and went to the council. The chieftains representing the tribes sat down upon the ground in the form of a crescent, and Grandfather in his disguise of paint, feathers and blanket, took the seat intended for Tecumseh. He filled, lit the pipe and smoked a little. Then passed it to the nearest chief who also smoked, passed it to the next and soon until it had gone round the semi-circle. Good as Grandfather's disguise was, one of the old Indians recognized him. He looked him over from one side, walked around and looked at him from the other, then exclaimed, "You no Tecumseh—you big John Conner." Up to that time not a word had been spoken, but now they all jumped to their feet and whooped and yelled, taking it as a great joke.

Once, in company with a friend, Grandfather was traveling in the north part of the State. They stopped for the night in an Indian village. During the evening Grandfather, who thoroughly understood the Indians' language and customs, felt that there was something wrong, and after retiring to their tent he told his friend not to go to sleep, for he felt that they were in great danger. His friend only laughed at him and went to sleep, but Grandfather lay awake, apprehensive, and listening intently. About midnight he became conscious that there was some one at his tent. The flap moved, a hand was thrust in and grasped him by the wrist, and some one said, "Conner." Grandfather answered him and he said, "Wake your friend,—you are in great peril. If you are here in the morning, you will be killed." He awoke his friend, and they slipped out of the village, got their horses, which the friendly Indian had concealed some distance away, and left. The Indian who saved their lives was Grandfather's trusted friend, Tecumseh.*

*A story curiously like this is told of one "Captain W.," (supposed to be Wilson) by Judge Law in his "Colonial History of Vincennes" (pp. 99-105).

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INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Published at Indianapolis, Indiana

GEORGE S. COTTMAN, *Editor and Publisher*

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

ACTION OF THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—LOCAL SOCIETIES.

In our last issue we presented a brief sketch of the Indiana Historical Society and discussed the question of an added field of work for it, suggesting that it should take the initiative toward establishing some relation between itself and the various organizations of a historical character, particularly the local societies. It was further suggested that one way of creating this relation might be by inviting the societies in question to send in reports, transmit copies of programs, etc., which the State Society, acting as a sort of bureau of information, would publish in an annual bulletin, furnishing the same to all the societies and thus stimulating all by a common interest.

This question, in substantially the same form as we outlined it, was brought before the State Society, and it was duly considered. It was thought that this magazine, occupying the field it does, would be a logical substitute for the proposed bulletin, and, in endorsement of the revised plan, it was, at a special meeting held April 26,

"Resolved, That for the purpose of announcements, reports of meetings and similar matters of public interest, the Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History be recognized as the official organ of the Indiana Historical Society; and further,

"Resolved, That all the local historical societies of the State be requested to send announcements and reports of proceedings to the said Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, to the end that a speedy and convenient interchange of information be established among those interested in historical matters."

While this particular plan for promoting the work was not sought by us, we will say that we will be very glad to make the magazine an organ as proposed if the societies themselves will evince a desire to cooperate. The interest in the matter proposed will be confined almost exclusively to the societies, and the

presumption is that any organization that transmits its reports to be published along with those of other societies will wish to preserve the same in its archives.

We heartily invite all historical organizations in the State to send through their secretaries brief reports of the meetings and of their work, past and present.

LOCAL SOCIETY WORK—COOPERATION AND TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE NEEDED.

Editor Indiana Magazine of History.

DEAR SIR: In your last issue you invite opinions as to the aid the State Historical Society might render the local ones. I think that perhaps the most effective thing might be the establishment of a system of mutual interchange, not only of papers, addresses, documents and articles of interest and value; but also of speakers and specialists in the various branches of local history and historical research. It seems to me that an *esprit de corps* might be incited by such a movement that would be of great value to the progress and efficiency of the work of the various societies. In Henry county there seems to be now, after more than twenty years of persistent effort on the part of the local society, a fairly good and liberal interest in the work manifested by intelligent and educated people of all callings and professions. What we need most is a class of willing workers who are thoroughly informed as to the best methods of collecting, arranging and presenting local historical and illustrative matter, in such manner as to make it most readily available to the student, the investigator or the citizen who may require such information at once to meet some urgent necessity. The willing workers we have, but we need the technical training, and I am sure that it is the most urgent need of our county and district societies. If the State might be induced to appropriate a small sum of money to procure the services of some qualified person to visit the various societies and give practical instructions on the subjects above indicated, it would greatly promote the present and future usefulness of their work, and make it much more interesting and far easier of execution. It is along such lines as I have suggested that cooperation might, as I think, be most helpful.

BENJ. S. PARKER.

New Castle, Ind.

LOCAL HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS—L. A. M'KNIGHT'S WORK.

Mr. L. A. McKnight, the superintendent of Benton county, Indiana, is working out in his schools an experiment in local history study which should be of interest to teachers and superintendents generally and to the friends of such study in particular. He has printed a little twelve-page pamphlet which he calls "Outline for the Study and Compilation of Local History, for the Use of Teachers, Pupils, Clubs and Students in History," and this presents a somewhat elaborate scheme by which this subject can be studied with interest and profit, as it seems to us, in any school or grade.

The plan contemplates, first of all, the selection by a school of a unit of study, and this unit "may be a county, civil or congressional township, town, school district, or any well-defined part of a county or township." The unit chosen, the historic elements to be dealt with are grouped as follows:

1. The Indians.
2. Favorable Conditions which Led to Settlement.
3. Settlement and Settlers.
4. Draw Map of Unit of Study.
5. Home Life.
6. Governing Life.
7. Industrial Life.
8. Social Life.
9. Religious Life.
10. Educational Life.
11. "For God and Home and Native Land," this last dealing with matters patriotic.

Under these various heads are worked out specific lines of investigation which may be flexibly adapted to the ages and capacities of the pupils. An examination of the plan in its details suggests a possibility of valuable training in various directions—in composition, in investigation and research, and in the development of a history interest quickened into a lively sense of the nearness and meaning of history. To satisfy ourselves on this point we wrote to Mr. McKnight requesting a statement as to the practical results of his work. The following letter from him answers the question:

Editor Indiana Magazine of History.

DEAR SIR: The results obtained from the use of my local history outlines have surpassed my expectations. The indications now are that I will receive fully 3000 pages of neatly written manuscripts from pupils in different parts of the county. When you remember that this work is *purely voluntary*, you may be able to conceive the interest that has been taken in it by

many pupils. It has also awakened many parents to a realization of the worthy work of investigating the history of their respective communities. The pupils follow up the work systematically, interviewing every one from whom they think they can obtain information, and classifying their information under the topical heads given in the outline. Complete and connected accounts of the history of many localities have been received. In some instances the pupils have entered into interesting correspondence with the pioneers who have become citizens of other States. Teachers say that the preparation of the manuscripts has awakened an interest in the use of good language that did not formerly exist among their pupils. It has shown them the need of the ability to compose and write well.

Among the people the work is the talk of the county. The outlines were sent out about the last of November, 1906, but many of the pupils did not take up the work until after the holidays. A few general expressions received are as follow: "My boy was never interested in any kind of history until he took up your outline. It is now his favorite study." "My daughter will hardly go to bed of nights since she has begun her local history work. She wants to be interviewing some one about something all of the time." "I think this is the grandest work ever undertaken by our children. What made you think of it?" "Your outline has given grandpa a renewal of his youth. Every night he has from two to three callers and likes to have the young people come. One boy has come three times and is getting to be a fine reporter." "The boys of our town are delighted. You have shown them that they can be both makers and writers of history." "Our children want to know if you will not write a history of the United States from your outline. They think that kind of a history would be much better than the one they study." The ablest minister in the county writes: "I want to thank you for awakening in me a sense of duty toward the founders of my congregation's church." One township called all of the schools together and had a historic day at which the papers prepared by the pupils were read. Isn't this the first day of the kind ever had in Indiana? I send you press notices. There are other evidences of the interest awakened by this work that are too numerous to mention.

Yours very respectfully,

L. A. McKNIGHT.

Fowler, May 2, 1907.

The lengthy notices in the Fowler papers sent by Mr. McKnight confirm his statement as to the lively interest shown in the community. It should be added that two songs by the superintendent, dedicated to Benton county, have been taken up with enthusiasm, the demand for copies exceeding the printed supply.

If any similar work is being done elsewhere in the State we would be glad to have a report of it.

LOCAL HISTORY CONTRIBUTIONS.

The Word Hoosier.—The latest publication of the Indiana Historical Society is a monograph on "The Word Hoosier," by Jacob Piatt Dunn, which is an unusually interesting and valuable contribution to historical and philological literature. This paper, originally published in the Indianapolis *News*, and reproduced in part in this magazine (see Vol. I, p. 86) here finds permanent lodgment in revised form. With the thoroughness that distinguishes him, Mr. Dunn seems to have fairly exhausted his subject, and his treatment of it is not only the first one worthy of mention but his conclusion will probably be the final one. The half-dozen or so stories that have long been current concerning the origin of the word "Hoosier" are, even in lieu of anything better, too crude for credence, and Mr. Dunn's study practically proves that it is not a chance word at all, but one with antecedents that, probably, reach far back in the English language; which was long used in the South to denote certain uncouth characteristics, and which was imported hither as descriptive of an element of our early population.

An appropriate companion sketch to the above is one of John Finley, included in the same pamphlet, by Mr. Finley's daughter, Mrs. Sarah A. Wrigley. Finley, for many years a prominent citizen of Richmond, Ind., introduced "Hoosier" into literature by his famous poem, "The Hoosier's Nest," first published in 1833. He was one of the most notable of early Indiana poets.

We venture to call attention to the abominable paper on which this pamphlet is printed. The printers of it have not even duplicated previous pamphlets, but have used the cheapest wood-pulp stock. The printing of matter of this sort on paper that will fall to pieces inside of a generation seems to us a grave mistake, to say the least.

Concerning Indians.—In the Indianapolis *Sunday Star* for April 7 and April 28 and in the Indianapolis *News* for April 25 is published an interesting and spirited ethnological discussion touching the Indians of the central west. The *Star* articles, written as editorials by Mr. J. P. Dunn, criticise the handbook of American Indians, recently issued by the Bureau of American Ethnology, and Mr. James Mooney, for the Bureau, replies. The argument, specifically, hinges upon the origin and meaning of certain Indian words, and, incidentally, upon the publications of the Bureau as relating to the aborigines above mentioned. One interested in such questions will find these articles well worth securing and keeping.

John Flinn's Story.—The following account of John Flinn's captivity among the Indians was secured from Flinn's son by Mr. M. G. Mock, of Muncie. It was sent to this magazine through the courtesy of Mr. Arthur W. Osborne, of Spiceland, Ind. Further matter touching this "Oldtown Hill" of the Delawares may be found in this magazine, Vol. I, p. 176.

"John Flinn was born in Green Brier county, Virginia, about 1780, and when five years old he, with his mother and sister, were captured by a band of Indians, whose tribe was located at Oldtown Hill (in Delaware county, near Muncie), where he was taken with his sister. His mother was slain. Flinn and his sister remained together for some years, when the French bought her of the Indians and gave her her freedom. She married a Mr. Bateral and once lived near New Castle, Ind.

"John Flinn remained with the Indians at Oldtown Hill until he was twenty-five, when he decided he would return to his people, who had moved near Springfield, O. Having remained with his people a year or so he returned to his tribe at Oldtown Hill. A young man having become a very warm friend of Flinn's, and being of a wild nature, went with him and expected to live there awhile with the Indians. But only a few months had passed when hostilities broke out between the whites and Indians, and councils of war were being held, and warriors were preparing for war.

"At a general council of the chiefs and warriors, Flinn and his friend being present, the question arose as to whether Flinn and his pale-faced friend had come to them as friends or spies.

"It was soon decided by the council that they had come as spies, and Flinn, knowing the fate of a spy, made a break for his life, followed by his friend.

"Following the west bank of White river, they had gone but a short distance, followed closely by the Indians, when they came to where crossed logs lay in the path.

"Flinn was able to scale them, but his friend failed to make the leap, fell back and was captured by his pursuers.

"The capture of his companion stopped the pursuit of Flinn and he made good his escape, and again returned to his people in Ohio, where he was married. He was afterward employed by the Governor and went as a scout and spy. Flinn's friend who was captured was burned at the stake, the spot still being marked by a stone which was placed where the stake stood when the early settlers came to Delaware county.

"The stake was taken up, split in pieces, some going to Washington, some to Philadelphia, and a piece was for a long time kept in the court-house of this county (Delaware)."

Education in Benton County.—A noteworthy contribution to Indiana's educational history is "Progress of Education in Benton County," a volume of 231 pages, by L. A. McKnight, the school superintendent of Benton county. This circumstantial study confined to one county has its particular value and might creditably be followed by the school authorities in other counties, paving the way to a fuller general history than has heretofore been possible. The idea of such a work in Benton county, we are told, was originally suggested by trustee John V. Bartoo, of Gilboa township, the County Board of Education thought well of it, and Superintendent McKnight was instructed to prepare a tentative outline, comprising information that in his judgment would be of popular interest and value. The result was this book, and the good judgment of its author and promoters has been proven by the fact that the demand for the work has far exceeded the edition of 2550 that was issued.

"*Some Recollections of My Boyhood.*"—A little book privately printed, contains reminiscences of Wayne county seventy-five years ago. The writer, Mr. Branson L. Harris, undertook his modest work at the request of his sons for the dual purpose of

preserving to them these recollections and pleasantly filling in his declining days, and in so occupying himself he was, doubtless, wholly unconscious that he was investing his simple theme with a charm which might serve as a model of style in the schoolroom. Through this style, which is almost childlike in its simplicity, we not only get graphic and entertaining pictures of a life now obsolete, but with equal clearness there stands out the picture of a plain, childlike, righteous-minded man—a fine specimen of the Quaker stock that helped people our State. To our mind this little book is somewhat remarkable, and it is to be regretted that it will not have a wider circulation. Among the reminiscences are a number that, from their detailed description, are a real contribution to our reminiscent literature.

Logansport History.—The *Logansport Journal* has been publishing, recently, many articles relating to the events, personages and landmarks of Logansport. The author of these is Mr. W. S. Wright, who, being a native of Logansport and of a historical turn, is well qualified to work what is one of the richest fields, historically, in northern Indiana. Mr. Wright was active in organizing the Cass County Historical Society, and he aptly argues that said society would do well to secure for itself, as an appropriate home, the old Biddle house, and there collect and preserve material that is lying at hand, and which will be scattered and wasted some time if the indifference of the past is not mended. The most notable private collection now in Logansport is that of C. B. Lasselle, which lies buried in dust in a room of the court-house. Whether this mass of material will be well and intelligently disposed of when Mr. Lasselle dies remains to be seen. If we are informed aright the opinion got abroad in Logansport a year or so ago that the Indiana State Library wished to “hog” the Lasselle collection, and that opinion seemed to awaken some hostility. We speak with authority when we say that the chief thought at the State Library was that the result of long years of labor should somewhere be preserved intact and not be dissipated and wasted. Since the Library can not have that privilege, it is sincerely to be hoped that the historical society at Logansport will see to it. The danger with most collections of this sort is that ultimately the more obvious-

ly valuable things will be appropriated by individuals, and that the things of less obvious value that are buried away in a mass of seeming rubbish will be deliberately carted off to the paper mill, as has been done time and again all over this State. So far as the real and larger value is concerned, things might almost as well go to the junk dealer as to the den of the private collector who hoards them up and hides them away in pure selfishness. More than seven years ago the present writer visited Mr. Lasselle and spent two or three days with him in his room looking in a cursory way over his papers. The impression then received was that much there that was of value to one historically interested would have no apparent value to one who lacked expert knowledge in this line. As we remember it, to go over the collection properly would take days, and the question naturally arises as to whether any one will have the time, patience and zeal to sort out the matter of value that may and probably does exist there.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The following is the list of subjects presented by the Monroe County Historical Society during the past year:

The University in the Later Fifties, by Hon. John C. Robinson; The Preservation of Local Historical Material, James A. Woodburn; The Old Monroe County Female Seminary, Amzi Atwater; The Monon Railroad, Carter Perring; The Beginning of the City Hospital, Mrs. Maude Showers; The Indianapolis Southern Railroad, Ira C. Batman; The History of Organized Charities in Bloomington, Mrs. Minnie B. Waldron; Company K, 14th Regiment Indiana Volunteers, Miss Mary Kelly; History of Bloomington Methodist Church, Mrs. Lena M. Beck; Monroe County Stone Quarries, W. B. Seward.

The May meeting of the Henry county society offered a program of eleven numbers, consisting of music, papers and other features, not forgetting a good, old-fashioned basket-picnic dinner between sessions. Among the numbers we find a "Symposium on Local History," ten-minute discussions; "Local Work in the Public Schools," by Supt. J. G. Wier; "The Irish in Henry County," by Miss Kate Finley; "The Possibilities of the County Historical Society," by Judge John M. Morris, and "The Importance of Local History," by Adolph Rogers.

LETTER ABOUT THE CONVENTION OF 1816.

A correspondent in the Vincennes *Western Sun* for June 22, 1816, writes:

"The convention has determined by a majority of 33 to 8, to launch our political vessel of state, and, I am afraid, without having a sufficient number of skilful navigators on board, at least to manage the vessel in case of a storm—but with such an overwhelming majority in favor of State government, the people must take it as a man takes his wife, 'for better, for worse,' &c., with but this exception, a divorce can not be obtained. "

"Great variety of opinions appears to exist among the members as to some of the most important points or features in a constitution—what its general complexion eventually may be, it is at this time impossible to tell—but from the conflict of opinions, a model of perfection can not be expected."

COLD SUMMER OF 1816.

According to an anonymous writer, the year 1816 was phenomenally cold. "In many places," he says, "the trees and shrubs budded, but the frost soon nipped the buds and they dropped to the ground. June was no better. The thermometer registered as low as thirty all through that rosy month. One day in June snow fell to a depth of ten inches in Vermont, and nearly as deep in other New England States. Ice formed in the streams and ponds. Frost and ice prevailed all through July, and August was, if possible, more cheerless than months already passed." The last month of summer, it is said, was ushered in bright and warm, but this was of short duration. On the 16th ice formed a quarter of an inch thick. There was deep snow throughout November, but December, strange to say, was the pleasantest month of the year. Corn raised in 1815 had to be used for seed in the spring of 1817, and was difficult to get, even at \$5 a bushel.

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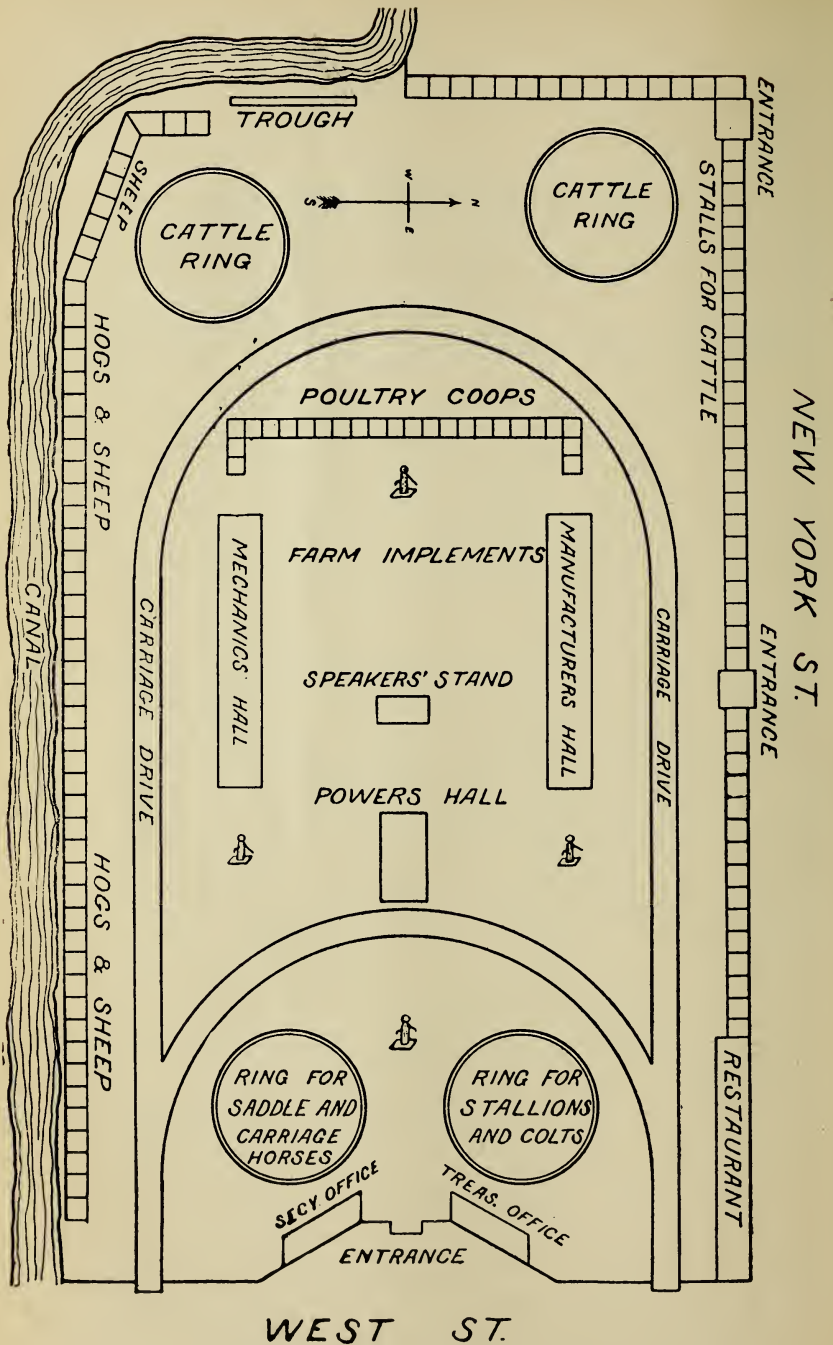
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COBBETT'S "A YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA," 1818. Good condition, but needs rebinding.

WOOLLEN'S BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF EARLY INDIANA. The best book of Indiana biography, and a standard work. New. Price, \$1.75.

HOGARTH'S WORKS "from the original plates, restored, by James Heath, Esq., R. A., with the addition of many subjects not before collected; to which are prefixed a biographical essay on the genius and productions of Hogarth and explanations of the subjects of the plates by John Nichols, Esq., F. S. A. London: printed for Baldwin and Cradock, Paternaster Row, by G. Woodfall, Angel Court, Skinner Street." A beautiful copy; size, 20x26 inches. Price, \$50.00.

We can also secure, Morris Birkbeck's "Letters from the Illinois Territory," 1818; "Six Sketches on the History of Man," by Lord Kaimes, 1776; Reports of Adjutant-General W. H. H. Terrell (Ind. during Civil war); "Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution"; Oliver H. Smith's "Early Trials and Sketches;" Dillon's "History of Indiana."



Plan of First State Fair Grounds—now Military Park, Indianapolis. See p. 144.

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VOL. III

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No. 3

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN INDIANA.

NO. III—THE WABASH AND ERIE CANAL.

THE Wabash and Erie Canal, while identified with the State's internal improvement scheme of 1836, has a history that stands apart from that of the system. The actual beginning of this great waterway antedated the internal improvement law by four years, and it had its origin in Federal aid. The first conception of such a work dates so far back that it is a matter of speculation, for the benefits to be obtained were so obvious that, as one writer says, they must have been suggested to every traveler over the pass between the Wabash and Maumee rivers. The same natural advantages that brought the old French fur trade over this route pointed to the possibility of here connecting the waters of the lakes and the Mississippi. The Ordinance of 1787, Wayne's Indian treaty of 1795, and President Washington recognized the military and commercial value of the portage where Fort Wayne afterward grew up. A little later others began to entertain ideas of a canal there, and in 1818 Captain James Riley,* a government surveyor, who had been sent to make preliminary surveys of the region, developed and pushed this idea. A canal not exceeding six miles in length, over the old portage between the St. Mary's and Little rivers would, he thought, be an important step toward an uninterrupted navigation between the two water systems. His opinion as that of a practical engineer was of sufficient weight to command the attention of Congress, which went so far as to establish the feasibility of such a work by preliminary surveys. As the country was thrown open and the population began to crowd into the rich valley of the upper Wabash, the commercial demands for an outlet to the east became more imperative and there were repeated and growing demands for improve-

*An item in the *Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide* of August 31, 1824, makes this Captain Riley the mariner, once famous for his travels and adventures.

ment of the Wabash and its connection with the Maumee. Indiana itself was too poor to attempt such undertaking, and Congress was besieged with memorials and bills for grants of greater or less magnitude. The fight for such grants was continuous and increased in the scope of its demands. In 1823 Jonathan Jennings reported a bill "to authorize the State of Indiana to open a canal through the public lands for the purpose of connecting the Wabash and the Miami of Lake Erie." All this called for was a right of way for the canal, but it was generally regarded by the representatives from Indiana as the entering wedge finally to secure a land grant from Congress. Before final action on this bill, attempts were made to enlarge its scope, but it was finally passed in almost its original form. This left on the State the burden of constructing the canal, but, with no fund for the purpose other than a wholly inadequate one derived from what was known as the three per cent. fund,* it was not much nearer to the accomplishment.

The concession gained simply lay fallow for two years while the general idea of Federal aid of internal improvements was making its way; then another bill was introduced asking for a land grant to aid the proposed canal in Indiana. Meanwhile the idea of the magnitude of the work had grown. In the debates upon the subject there seems to have been no fixed opinion as to the length the canal was to be. One had it the original portage connection of six or seven miles, another extended the canal to the Little Wabash, twenty-five miles below; others to the mouth of the Tippecanoe river, one hundred miles down the Wabash. Mr. Hendricks, the leading supporter of the bill, and Senator from Indiana, probably expressing the sentiment, of the canal's friends, was of the opinion that the canal should extend fifty miles, to the mouth of the Mississinaway river.† In support of the bill the commercial benefits to the western country generally were dwelt upon, and the most was made of the value to the United States of a military highway into the northwestern possessions, the need of which had been demonstrated in the war of 1812. The bill in a modified form

*This was three per cent. of the net proceeds from the public lands, allowed to the State for internal improvements.

†"The Wabash Trade Route in the Development of the Old Northwest," by Elbert Jay Benton.

was passed March 2, 1827, and granted to the State of Indiana every alternate section of land, equal to five miles in width for six miles on both sides of the proposed line and throughout its whole length, for the purpose of constructing a canal from the head of the navigation on the Wabash at the mouth of the Tippecanoe river to the foot of the Maumee rapids. This gift amounted to 3200 acres for every one of the 213 miles of the proposed work. Indiana, accepting the conditions of the grant, took steps toward the work, but considerable time was spent in discussing the thing to be done (some, even at this time, leaning to the idea of a railroad), and in organizing; and not until February 22, 1832, was the first ground broken. This occurred at Ft. Wayne and was made a notable public occasion.* The first contracts were let in the following June; the first division of the work, of thirty-two miles, was completed in 1856, and on the fourth of July of that year the first canal boat, the "Indiana," passed through to Huntington. Progressing westward as funds permitted, one after another of the Wabash towns borrowed life and growth from its vitalizing touch. Wabash and Peru were reached in 1837, Logansport in 1838, Tippecanoe River in 1841 and Lafayette in 1843.

Meanwhile an eastern division of the canal, from the State line to the Maumee Bay, had been completed by Ohio, and with this completion by the two States there was opened up the largest continuous line of artificial water communication in the world.

With the adoption of an internal improvement system by the

*"The birthday of Washington had been selected as an auspicious time for the beginning, and by order of the Board of Canal Commissioners, J. Vigus, Esq., was authorized to procure the necessary tools and assistance and repair to the most convenient point on the St. Joseph feeder-line at two o'clock on that day for the purpose named. A public meeting was called at the Masonic hall and was attended by all prominent citizens, not only of Ft. Wayne, but of the Wabash and Maumee valleys. Henry Rudisille was chairman and David H. Cole-riek secretary. A procession was formed and proceeded across the St. Mary's river to the point selected. A circle was formed and the commissioners and orator took the stand. Hon. Charles W. Ewing then delivered an appropriate address and was followed by Commissioner Vigus. The latter, after adverting to the difficulties and embarrassments which had beset the undertaking and referring to the importance of the work and the advantages which would be realized, concluded by saying: 'I am now about to commence the Wabash and Erie canal, in the name and by the authority of the State of Indiana.' He then struck a spade into the ground and the assembled gentlemen cheered. Judge Hanna and Captain Murray, two of the able advocates of the canal, next approached and commenced an indiscriminate digging, and the procession then marched back to town"—Valley of the Upper Maumee River, v. II, p. 20.

State, the Wabash and Erie enterprise was merged with the general scheme, of which it was the main artery, and after the abandonment of the other works it was still retained by the State, it then being a source of revenue and having the land grants behind it, though still an unprofitable holding. In 1846, at the instance of the State's creditors, through Charles Butler, their attorney, it, with its tolls and unsold lands, was transferred to them in part payment of the internal improvement debt. A part of the stipulation was that out of the sales of these lands the new holders should complete the canal to the Ohio river. The property was put into the hands of three trustees, two appointed by the creditors and one by the State, and its subsequent history until the final closing up of its affairs in 1876 of itself makes a long and complicated story. The creditors fulfilled their part of the contract to extend the canal, reaching Evansville in 1853,* but the lower or southern division was the least successful part of the work. In fact, the innovation that within a few years was to make canals a thing of the past, the railroads, sounded the death-knell of the old Wabash and Erie soon after it passed from the hands of the State. In the early fifties a railroad was constructed from Toledo, O., westward, along the side of the canal, while others from New Albany northward through Crawfordsville and Lafayette, opened up a formidable competition along the whole route. While Benton gives the "heyday of the canal" as the period from 1847 to 1856, yet the high tide of tolls and rents (\$193,400.18) was in 1852, and "from that time the income steadily decreased." Traffic was deflected to the newer, swifter and more reliable method of transportation, confidence in the future of the canal waned, money ceased to be invested in boat-building and investments in canal-property were withdrawn. By 1854 "bulky goods, like corn, iron and lumber—articles which paid light tolls—constituted its main traffic,"† while the better-paying exports all went to the railroads; and to add to this curtailment, the imports caught by the canal dwindled away almost wholly; boats that carried the bulky products eastward were forced to return empty, and the passenger carriage which had been a valuable

*The canal was then 459½ miles in length.

†Benton, p. 79.

part of the business, dropped off altogether. In spite of the reduction of tolls for the encouragement of shippers, the tonnage steadily declined till the competition with the railroads became hopeless. By various makeshifts, that had in them the flavor of desperation, traffic on the ditch continued to exist after a fashion, until in the seventies it was wholly abandoned, the court ordered the sale of the canal, the right of way and lands went to speculators and the old waterway, famous in our history, fell into ruin. To-day, over part of the old route, lie side by side the river, the dry and half-obliterated canal bed, a railroad and an electric line, representatives of four distinct epochs in commerce and transportation—the more and the less remote pasts, the present and a dawning future.

The Wabash Canal, while short-lived and a failure as measured by the sanguine hopes that promoted the enterprise, was in its brief day a most important and interesting factor in the development of the Wabash Valley. As it crawled westward successive towns along the route hailed its arrival with jubilant demonstrations and other towns sprang up in anticipation of its benefits. It brought into the valley a new life and energy, both commercial and social. "The abundant agricultural wealth of the Wabash country now found comparatively cheap and easy transportation directly to the East; the regions north and south for a distance of fifty to one hundred miles gravitated to this outlet, and from the Illinois country westward to Lafayette came flocking the great prairie schooners laden with their contributions to the world's marts.* Westward, in turn, came the capacious freight boats laden with merchandise of all kinds, and the packets with emigrants who, now having access to this land of promise, came in an uninterrupted stream, adding to the new currents of life. Towns along the river which heretofore could have only a broken and restricted intercourse with each other, were now regularly connected, and traveling was made possible to the multitude. And it was idyllic and picturesque traveling. People spent leisurely hours, sitting in pleasant

*Old settlers tell of long trains of wagons waiting by the hour at these rising commercial centers for their turns to unload the product of the farms, bound to the eastern markets. Four hundred wagons unloading in Lafayette during a single day of 1844 were counted by one of the pioneers. Another, speaking of the business at Wabash, says it was a common occurrence to see as many as four or five hundred teams in that place in a single day, unloading grain to the canal.—Benton p. 101.

company on the decks or in the cabin of the smoothly gliding packets. Passengers got acquainted and fraternized, played games and discoursed, and, when the boat was delayed, it was quite common for congenial groups to step off and stroll on ahead, gathering wild flowers as they went. The speed of the best packets was six or eight miles an hour and one writer gives us a picture of the swaggering driver in a slouch hat and top boots, lashing his team to a trot.* On approaching a town there was a great blowing of horns from the deck, and when dock was made everybody went ashore to mingle with the townsmen, to ask and to answer innumerable questions. When the boat was ready to go, a horn was blown again to warn the passengers aboard, and on they fared to the next stopping place.

Merchants went by packet to the eastern cities for their goods. Ft. Wayne, Huntington, Wabash, Peru, Logansport, Delphi, Pittsburg and Lafayette attained a substantial commercial importance. Elevators rose and factories multiplied. Mills secured power from the water stored to feed the canal, and cargoes of flour moved eastward continually.† The canal made possible the increase of the population by enabling the settlers to find markets for their surplus products, and obviously, by this rapid increase of a rural population, agricultural conditions were vitally affected. It has been asserted that there was no agriculture in the country before the construction of the canal. All evidence shows that it was, at least, conducted on a small scale. Where formerly production was limited to supplying home consumption, it now began to send its products to eastern States. Larger farms took the place of the small clearings. Lands that before were not considered worth cultivation were now cleared, drained and brought into use. The increased area included in a single farm and the ready sale at the enhanced prices of its products led to the introduction of improved machinery. * * * In 1844 there was shipped out of Toledo, coming from the Maumee and Wabash valleys, 5262 bushels of corn. Two years later this output increased a hundredfold, and in five years more it amounted to 2,775,149 bushels.‡ Other industries

*Valley of the Maumee, p. 17.

†Leroy Armstrong in *Lafayette Journal*, September 10, 1899. A very graphic and interesting article on the Wabash and Erie Canal.

‡Benton.

were promoted, and the annual report of the trustees for the year 1851 speaks of nine flouring-mills, eight saw-mills, three paper-mills, eight carding- and fulling-mills, two oil-mills and one iron establishment, as being furnished water-power from the canal, and in addition to these were many other mills, elevators, foundries and warehouses scattered all along the route not using canal water for power, but there, nevertheless, because of the canal. Industries dealing with raw material were also developed. The canal ran through a heavily forested tract and at once became the highway for handling firewood. Similarly the manufacture and shipping of lumber was begun and maintained for a long time on an enormous scale, while the quarrying of stone and the manufacture of lime became prominent sources of wealth. In conclusion, it was estimated by Chief Engineer Jesse L. Williams that thirty-eight counties in Indiana and nearly nine counties in Illinois, including an approximate area of 22,000 square miles, were directly affected by the canal. The same is affirmed of all the counties in northwestern Ohio.

In this connection, the stimulating effect of transportation service upon contiguous territory is pointed out by Mr. Benton, who cites Noble and Huntington counties as typical cases. Huntington was a canal county. Noble was not, but offered far better natural advantages. For the year 1840 to 1850 the rate of increase in Noble was 190 per cent., while in Huntington it was 397 per cent. And this, Mr. Benton adds, "is to be regarded as an extremely conservative case."

Another thing to be noticed is the effect of the canal on the equalization of prices. After its opening, farmers who had been selling wheat for forty-five cents per bushel and buying salt at nine dollars per barrel received for their wheat one dollar per bushel and got salt for less than four dollars a barrel. "Illustrations," our author says, "might readily be multiplied."

NOTE—For further information touching the history of the Wabash Canal and its commercial and social influences in the settlement of the northwest, the reader is referred to Mr. Benton's admirable thesis as preeminently the best treatment of the subject that has yet appeared.

THE WHITEWATER CANAL.

BY JAMES M. MILLER.

[For an article on the Richmond and Brookville canal by James M. Miller, together with a brief sketch of the writer, see this magazine, Vol. I, p. 189.]

The rapidly increasing settlement of the Whitewater valley and the remarkable fertility of the soil caused an increasing demand for a market for the products of the farms, and as early as 1822 or 1823 a convention of delegates from Randolph, Wayne, Union, Fayette, Franklin and Dearborn counties, Indiana, assembled at Harrison, O., to consider the practicability of constructing a canal down the valley. The prime mover was Augustus Jocelyn, a minister of the gospel who edited and published the *Western Agriculturist* at Brookville, and through his paper worked up quite an interest in behalf of the improvement of the valley. Shortly after the convention was held Colonel Shriver, of the United States army, began a survey for a canal and got as far down the valley as Garrison's creek, where the survey was brought to a sudden close by the death of the colonel. The suspension was of short duration, for Colonel Stansbury, United States civil engineer, soon completed it. Nothing seems to have been done until February of 1834, when the Legislature directed the canal commissioners to employ competent engineers, and "early the ensuing summer survey to locate a canal from a point at or near the mouth of Nettle creek, in Wayne county, to Lawrenceburg, Ind." Accordingly, William Goodin was employed as engineer-in-chief and Jesse L. Williams assistant engineer. During its construction and existence there were employed as assistant engineers Simpson Talbot, Elisha Long, John H. Farquhar, Martin Crowell, Henry C. Moore, Stephen D. Wright, — Dewey and John Shank. The canal was first located on the west side of the river as far as Laurel, where it crossed to the east and continued down to the gravel bank just above Brookville, where it recrossed to the west bank and proceeded on to Lawrenceburg, but was afterward located on the east bank from Laurel to its terminus.

Strange as it may seem, this great and badly needed improvement was bitterly opposed by some and every obstruction thrown in the way of the enterprise that could be, the opposition being led by Charles Hutchens, a Kentuckian, who resided for many years in Brookville, and during his residence edited several papers.

A meeting was called to assemble at the court-house in Brookville at 2 o'clock p. m., December 25, 1834, to consider the propriety of constructing a canal from the forks of Blue creek to its mouth. It was proposed to connect with the Whitewater canal near the mouth of the creek, and it was thought that Congress would donate the contiguous land. The call closes with the following postscript: "While we are borrowing money to build the Whitewater canal, let's borrow a little more to build the Blue Creek." This was done by the opponents of the Whitewater, as the proposed canal would only have been four miles in length. January 5, 1835, the engineer reported the survey completed. The length of the canal was seventy-six miles, with a fall of 491 feet from its head at Nettle creek to its terminus at Lawrenceburg, requiring fifty-five locks and seven dams, the latter varying in height from two to eight feet. The estimated cost per mile was \$14,908, or \$1,142,126 for the entire canal. In June of that year General Amaziah Morgan, of Rush county, was appointed a commissioner to receive stone, timber, or the conveyance of land to the canal to aid in constructing it. Owing to the hills in southern Indiana, it was deemed best to cross the line at Harrison creek and locate about eight miles of the canal in Hamilton county, Ohio, recrossing into Indiana and continuing to Lawrenceburg. As it was necessary to have the consent of Ohio to construct the portion running through her territory, the Legislature of Indiana authorized the Governor to obtain Ohio's permission, and Governor Noble appointed O. H. Smith a commissioner, who proceeded to Columbus, O., and January 30, 1835, presented Indiana's request. This was bitterly opposed, and the petition refused on the grounds that it was against Ohio's interest to grant it, as the Whitewater canal would run parallel to the Miami at a distance of from twenty to fifty miles from it, and that the products of Wayne, Union and part of Fayette and Franklin counties, Indiana, were taken to

Hamilton and shipped to Cincinnati on the Miami canal, and if Ohio granted the request, she would lose that tonnage. The refusal only served to put Indiana on her mettle, and the Buckeyes soon learned that when "the Hoosiers will they will, and that's the end on't," for the Legislature immediately instructed the Board of Internal Improvements, should Ohio persist in her refusal, to construct a railroad on the Indiana side of the State line from Harrison to Lawrenceburg. This, with the influence of Cincinnati, whose people quickly realized what the result would be to them if the commerce of the valley went to Lawrenceburg, hastily changed the mind of Ohio's Legislature, and the petition was granted. One enthusiastic advocate of the Whitewater canal, in the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* of September 8, 1836, earnestly and persistently urged Cincinnati to borrow half a million dollars to aid in constructing the canal and Miami railroad. Early in January of 1836 the champions of the Whitewater canal in the Indiana Legislature, Enoch McCarty in the Senate and Caleb Smith and Mark Crum in the House, had the pleasing satisfaction of seeing their labors crowned with success by the passing of the internal improvement bill.

Tuesday January 9, 1836, was a gala day in Brookville, for on that day the news that the internal improvement bill had passed both houses of the Legislature was received, and in the evening the event was celebrated with speaking by prominent men, all buildings, public and private, being illuminated, and long rows of lights placed on the fences along Meirs street. A long procession was formed under command of Colonel B. S. Noble and Captain Dodd, and, amid the ringing of bells, beating of drums and roaring of cannon, marched through the streets to the inspiring strains of a band of music. The demonstrations continued until after midnight, when the citizens retired to their homes, but the cannon boomed till daylight. Of all who took part in the demonstration there are, perhaps, living only Rev. T. A. Goodwin,* Thomas Pursel, Jackson Lynn and W. W. Butler*, of Indianapolis; Dr. Cornelius Cain, of Clarksburg, Ind.; Jonathan Cain, of Connersville, and Eli Cain and Dr. Thomas Colescott, of Brookville, who participated in the demonstration.

*Since deceased, as are, doubtless, some of the others. This article was written in 1899.

September 13, 1836, the ceremony of "breaking ground" and letting of the contracts for the construction of the canal from Brookville to Lawrenceburg was celebrated at Brookville by a grand barbecue and every expression of rejoicing possible. The orator of the day was Governor Noah Noble. The other speakers were ex-Governors James B. Ray and David Wallace; Hon. George H. Dunn, of Lawrenceburg, and Dr. Daniel Drake, of Cincinnati. Quite a number of speeches were made and toasts offered, the following being offered by John Finley, editor of the *Richmond Palladium*:

"There is not in the wide world a valley so sweet
As that vale where the branches of Whitewater meet;
Oh! The last picayune shall depart from my fob,
Ere the east and the west forks relinquish the job."

A pick, shovel and wheelbarrow had been provided for the occasion, and at the close of the speaking and reading of the toasts one of the speakers seized the pick and loosened the ground for a few feet, another trundled the wheelbarrow to the loosened earth, another took the shovel and filled the wheelbarrow and ex-Governor Wallace trundled it a short distance and dumped it, and "ground was broken" for the Whitewater canal. On this day, September 13, 1836, contracts were let for the construction of the canal to the following parties: William Carr, Joel Wilcox, Zephaniah Reed, William Rhubottom, Joel Palmer, R. & T. Freeman, — Westerfield, Benjamin M. Remy, George Heimer, Moses Kelley, William Marshall, N. Hammond, William M. McCarty, Isaac Van Horn, H. Simonton, William Garrison, Paren & Kyle, Carmichael & Barwick, Gibbons & Williams, Halstead & Parker, Naylor, Troxall & Co., D. Barnham & Co., Scott & Butt, H. Lasure & Co., Vance, Caldwell & Co., Tyner, Whipple & Co. and C. J. Meeks.

The State pushed the work, and in November of 1837 Joel Wilcox, the contractor for building the bridge and dam across the east fork of the Whitewater below Brookville, completed the latter and water was let in the first mile of the canal. According to the report of the Board of Internal Improvements for that year, there had been employed between Lawrenceburg and Brookville nine of that board, one engineer-in-chief, one secre-

tary, twelve resident engineers, seven senior and eleven junior assistant engineers and twenty-four rodmen. One of the rodmen was the venerable George W. Julian, now a resident of Irvington, and who a few years later took such an active part in national affairs. Also twenty axmen and 975 laborers, the latter receiving \$18 per month.

The White bridge, as it is called, was finished by the contractor in September of 1838, the west side of it being used for a towpath. It is 392 feet long and cost \$14,000. The locks were either named for some prominent person engaged in constructing the canal or for the town where they were located. They were Marshall's, Fox's, Trenton, Berwise's, Rhubottom's, Cedar Grove, guard lock at Case's, Wiley's (two), Tyner's, guard lock below Brookville, Brookville at the basin, Reed's, just above the depot, Boundary Hill, Yellow Bank, Twin locks, Gordon's, Metamora, Murray's, Ferris's, Jenks's, Laurel, Hetrick's, Garrison's creek, Conwell's, Limpus's, Berlin, Nulltown, Updegraff's, Herron's, Conwell's, Mill lock, Triple locks, Claypool's, Carmen's, Fourmile, Swamp Level, Milton and Lockport (two).

The first boat to reach Brookville from Lawrenceburg was the Ben Franklin, owned by Long & Westerfield and commanded by General Elisha Long. It arrived June 8, 1839, and was drawn by hand from below town up to its landing. The estimated cost of the canal from Hagerstown to Lawrenceburg was \$1,567,470, and to construct it to Brookville had cost \$664,665. The State debt had become so large she could not pay the interest, and the canal was sold in 1842 to Henry S. Vallette, a wealthy Cincinnati, who proceeded to complete it. In November of 1843 the first boat, the Native, in charge of Captain Crary, reached Laurel at dark with a grand excursion from Brookville. During the night the bank burst and left the excursionists eight miles above Brookville to walk home. In June of 1845 the canal reached Connorsville. The first boat to arrive at Herron's lock was the Banner. The following October the canal reached Cambridge City and had cost the company \$473,000. In 1846 it was completed to Hagerstown, and according to the report of the Auditor of the State for 1848, had cost the State \$1,092,175.13. In January of 1847 a flood destroyed the

aqueducts at Laurel and this side of Cambridge City and cut channels around the feeder dams at Cass's (now Cooley's Station), Brookville, Laurel, Connersville and Cambridge City. The damage was estimated to be \$90,000, and \$70,000, was expended during the summer in repairs. The following November there was another flood that destroyed all that had been done and \$80,000 more was expended, leaving \$30,000 of repairs undone, and the canal was not ready for use until September of 1848. Disaster followed disaster, the cost of maintaining it exceeding the revenue until the summer of 1862, when it was sold at the court-house door in Brookville by the United States marshal to H. C. Lord, president of the I. & C. Railroad, for \$63,000, that being the amount of the judgment. The railroad had long desired to secure the canal from Harrison to Cincinnati, so it could lay its track through the tunnel and thus gain an entrance to the city and the use of the Whitewater basin for a depot. This sale, for some reason, was set aside, although the railroad held that portion of the canal and used it as I have stated, but on December 5, 1865, C. C. Binckley (now Judge Binckley, of Richmond, and State senator from Wayne county), president of the Whitewater Valley Canal Company, sold it to H. C. Lord, president of the Whitewater Valley Railroad Company, for \$137,348.12.

The last boat that ran from Cincinnati to Brookville was the Favorite, owned and run by Captain Aaron C. Miller, at present a resident of Brookville. I have obtained the names of the following persons who are still residents of the county who helped build the canal: James Derbyshire, Jonathan Banes, William Carr, Peter D. Pelsor, Isaac K. Lee, John McKeown, Josiah McCafferty and Jacob Harvey.

In 1836 Ohio began to consider the propriety of constructing a branch from Harrison to Cincinnati, and in February of 1837 decided to build it, the estimated cost being between \$300,000 and \$400,000. In May following the books were opened at the office of the Ohio Insurance Company, in Cincinnati, for the sale of stock in the Whitewater canal. Ohio took \$150,000 and Cincinnati \$200,000, leaving \$100,000 unsold. In February of 1838 M. T. Williams advertised in the *Cincinnati Gazette* for proposals for constructing culverts over Mill creek, Bold Face, Rapid

run and Muddy creek, also for an aqueduct at Dry Forks and a lift and guard lock at the State line and a tunnel through the ridge that separates the great Miami and Ohio rivers at North Bend. In April of 1838 an excursion left Cincinnati on the steamboat Mosselle for General Harrison's farm at North Bend, to witness the ceremony of "breaking ground" for the Cincinnati branch. In 1838 it was proposed to unite the Central canal with the Whitewater and three routes were surveyed. Starting at or near Muncietown the first intersected the Whitewater at Milton and was thirty-three miles in length. The second, a short distance this side of that place, was thirty-seven miles long. The third, three and a half miles below Milton, was fifty-two miles long. After a thorough examination of the country and ascertaining the amount of water that could be depended on, it was deemed impracticable and the project abandoned. In January of 1839 contracts for constructing forty sections of the canal, averaging one half-mile each, between Harrison and Cincinnati, were let. The locks on this portion were Miami or Cleves, Dry Fork, Green's, Godley's and Cooper's. Thus the work progressed slowly, but perhaps as rapidly as could be expected, and in 1845 the branch was completed and direct communication by the Whitewater canal between Brookville and Cincinnati was established.

The first warehouse erected on the Whitewater canal basin in Cincinnati was built by Stephen D. Coffin and Hadley D. Johnson, of this place, and the first boatload of flour shipped down the canal to Cincinnati was consigned to Mr. Johnson and he sold it in that city. The first boat completed at the Rochester (now Cedar Grove) boat-yard of Messrs. T. Moore, U. Kendall, G. B. Child and S. D. Coffin was a packet called the Native, and with Stephen D. Coffin as master arrived in Brookville July 3, 1839, and the next day took a merry party of excursionists to Cass's dam, three and a half miles below town, one of the excursionists being a "truant schoolboy" who in after years filled a very important place in State and national affairs, made General Grant an excellent postmaster-general and is at present filling an important position in Washington City. The Native made regular trips between Brookville and Lawrenceburg, leaving the former at 6:30 a. m. Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, ar-

riving at the latter place the same evening, and on the return leaving Lawrenceburg at 6:30 a. m. on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, arriving at Brookville the same day. The fare was \$1.25 and \$1.50, the State receiving 37½ cents out of each fare.

With all its defects, the canal greatly aided in developing and making the Whitewater valley what it is to-day, one of the prettiest and most desirable places on earth for a home.

JAMES M. MILLER.

Brookville, Ind.

THE CENTRAL CANAL.

[From an interview with Gen. T. A. Morris, engineer, in 1898.]

THE Central canal, of which the piece from Indianapolis to Broad Ripple was the only completed portion, was a part of the system adopted by the Indiana Board of Internal Improvements in 1836. The Central canal was to run from Wabash, by way of Anderson and Indianapolis, to Evansville. Work on the canal was begun in 1837 and prosecuted up to 1838.

"During that time the part between Broad Ripple and Indianapolis was completed. A good deal of heavy work was also done on the canal between Indianapolis and Wabashtown, much of it about Anderson. The canal was almost completed from Indianapolis to the bluffs of White river, and a small amount of work was done between the bluffs and Evansville, when the Board of Internal Improvements failed, overwhelmed with debt. The board required the unfinished work to be measured, and the contractors were allowed what was due them for the work already done. As there was no money to make such payment, the Legislature had authorized the issue of scrip, and this was paid to the contractors.

"Some time after that the Legislature authorized the sale of the Central canal to outside parties. Alexander Morrison and myself were appointed commissioners to value the property, which was to be sold at our valuation. It was sold to parties in New York. Those persons disposed of it to a company formed here. The present Indianapolis Water Company is a successor of that company, and now owns the canal, having bought it more than twenty years ago.

"I located the line of this canal, laid it off and superintended the construction. I surveyed the line from Wabashtown to Martinsville. It went through a rather rough country. I camped out for six months, but came into town for Christmas. Many a morning we had to shake the snow off ourselves when we got up.

"There were forests and thickets and a great deal of swampy ground. There was a big swamp a mile or so south of Broad Ripple which contained water nearly all the year, and was a great feeding place for wild ducks. There was another big swamp southeast of this, near Hiram Bacon's place on the Noblesville road, west to the river. Remains of the former swamp still exist. I have had some good sport shooting snipes and ducks there.

"North of Indianapolis, along Fall creek, was a swampy place with a greater or less depth of water. It was at one time noted for its big pickerel. I have also shot snipes there. The place is now built up, and is called Lincoln Park."

The General said that in Madison and Grant counties the surveyor's work was especially hard because of the swampy nature of much of the ground, and that the surveyor had to be an expert in jumping, as he made his way by springing from hummock to hummock. There was one place in Madison county where the engineers desired to unite two streams. They anticipated some difficulty in doing this, but when they came to the spot agreed on for the dam, they found that the beavers had long before built a dam at that very spot and accomplished the purpose the engineers had in view, so they simply laid their lines across the dam made by the beavers.

FIRST OLD SETTLERS' MEETING.

In a previous issue [Vol. II, No. 1] we noticed what we then thought the first old settlers' meeting ever held in Indiana. This was in Wayne county, in 1854. In the *Madison Daily Banner* of January 29, 1852, we find an account of the organization of the first settlers of the city of Madison, to be composed of those who were residing in the county since 1820.

THE INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT SYSTEM OF INDIANA.

INDIANA'S great scheme for internal improvement which went into active operation with the famous internal improvement law of 1836, has, so far as our published histories show, never received more than superficial consideration. A thorough study of it, of the spirit that begot it and the lessons taught by its economic fallacies would, indeed, make a chapter of some magnitude, and an inviting field still remains open for some ambitious scholar to gather the substance and meaning of it into an elaborate thesis. Thus far, Elbert Jay Benton, in his "Wabash Trade Route," which has been cited in our previous article, has, perhaps, got the most out of it. This brief study claims to be little more than an outline, which may be of interest in connection with other articles of our series.

The internal improvement movement, as taken up by the State, can be better understood when we remember that it was but part of a more general one that swept over the country, and which had been gathering force for years. The situation in the United States was, perhaps, analagous to none other in the world at that day—a vast interior, still new and in the rough, predestined by climate, soil and natural resources to high development, and occupied by a race of boundless energy thoroughly bent upon progress. Almost with the founding of the nation the needs of transportation and the desirableness of facilitating it by government aid was agitated; and as population spread, forming sections, the needs became more imperative, both commercially and politically. There was a strong advocacy of federal aid. In 1806 the Cumberland or National road, to penetrate the West, was projected, and a year or two later Albert Gallatin, as Secretary of the Treasury, laid before Congress an elaborate scheme for federal works, consisting of roads, canals and river improvements. His suggestions were not carried out, but the fact that he had been instructed to prepare a report on the subject was significant.

But such aid as the general government rendered was insig-

nificant compared with the growing needs of the country; private enterprise likewise failed to keep pace with those needs, and the idea of State paternalism naturally grew up as the most promising means to the desired end.

As early as 1812 the legislature of New York voted five millions of dollars toward a canal to connect the waters of the Hudson and the lakes, and though the war with England, following soon after, put a quietus upon the proceeding for the time, a few years later saw the completion of the great Erie canal, to serve thereafter as an object lesson to other States. About the same period Pennsylvania appropriated many thousands of dollars toward various improvements; Virginia and North Carolina, alarmed by wholesale emigration from their borders to the valleys of the Ohio and Tennessee, attributed it to their insufficient transportation facilities, and sought to remedy it by State aid, and these were but the earlier steps in a movement which took possession of the country at large. Turnpikes, canals, navigable rivers, and a little later, railroads were things that people must have, and whatever promised to bring them made a strong bid for popular favor.

In the light of this prevailing and growing idea, then, it is not surprising that the citizens of Indiana, concerned to desperation by the difficulties of their situation, should have fallen in with the notion, and, beguiled by specious arguments, launched into a rash undertaking that afterward threatened to be the State's undoing. The sentiment within the State that culminated in the Act of 1836, with its reckless appropriation, was a growth. "For a period of more than ten years the expediency of providing by law for the commencement of a State system of public works had been discussed before the people of the State by governors, legislators and distinguished private citizens."* In his message of December 8, 1835, Governor Noble said: "The first steps in most of the important works undertaken have met with opposition from those who entertain fears of taxation, bankruptcy and ruin, but of all the public works in other States there are none that have been abandoned, or that have proved burdensome or unpopular with the people, even under the highest rate of taxation: on the contrary they have uniformly become

*Dillon p. 569.

sources of wealth and comfort, monuments of public spirit and enterprise, and objects of just pride and exaltation with the people. These triumphant successes have settled the question as to the practicability and utility of public works, and, encouraged by these examples, our citizens have manifested their willingness to enter with spirit upon a system that will contribute not less to their own prosperity than to the credit of the State."

The messages and addresses of Governors Hendricks, Ray and Noble (1822 to 1834) urged public works—the improvement of rivers and the construction of roads and canals. The financial success of such works in other States, particularly the Erie canal, in New York—where, according to the statement of Governor Marcy, of said State, the revenue from the canal would, within three years, more than pay off its cost—was often quoted. Ohio's canal system, also, had paid well, and facts and figures to prove the safeness of such investment were abundant. In a word, what the people needed the people would use when provided with it, and the returns from the tolls would take care of the necessary debt.

With the agitation public sentiment became educated to the idea, as is evidenced by the part the question came to play in politics. It became an issue in support of which politicians arrayed themselves, and not a few, among them James B. Ray, Governor from 1825 to 1831, may be said to have ridden into power on this wave.

In view of all the circumstances, the State, though it did the unwise thing, as the sequence proved, yet acted slowly, and not without prudence. The bill committing the State to the public works did not make its way through the legislature until preliminary surveys had been made, information made public and the will of the people determined by the ballot. "In 1836 the financial affairs of the country seemed to be in sound condition, and the minds of the people of Indiana were fully prepared to regard with favor the commencement of an extensive system of State internal improvements."* It was only a question of time till this tide must have its way and it issued eventually in an elaborate law of forty-four sections, providing for a system

*Dillon, p. 571.

of turnpikes, canals and railroads that should practically touch and benefit all sections of the State. These were to comprise:

1. The Whitewater Canal, extending from the National Road down the valley of the Whitewater river to Lawrenceburg on the Ohio and "above the National Road as far as may be practicable;" also a connection by canal or railroad between the Whitewater and Central canals.

2. The Central Canal, to connect the Wabash Canal above Logansport with the Ohio at Evansville, running by way of Muncietown and Indianapolis and down the White river valley.

3. The extension of the Wabash Canal (which under federal encouragement had been under course of construction for four years) from the Tippecanoe river down the Wabash valley to Terre Haute, and thence, by a practicable route, to connect with the Central.

4. A railroad from Madison through Columbus, Indianapolis and Crawfordsville, to Lafayette.

5. A macadamized turnpike road from New Albany to Vincennes by way of Greenville, Paoli, Mount Pleasant and Washington.

6. A railroad, if practicable, and if not a macadamized road, from Jeffersonville and New Albany to Crawfordsville by way of Salem, Bedford, Bloomington and Greencastle.

7. The removal of obstructions to navigation from the channel of the Wabash between its mouth and the town of Vincennes.

The total length of these roads and canals has been given as more than 1200 miles.* The appropriations specified in the act was \$8,000,000, and the actual loan authorized on the credit of the State was \$10,000,000.

An eighth provision authorized a survey and estimate of a canal if practicable, if not, of a railroad, from the Wabash canal at or near Ft. Wayne, to Lake Michigan at or near Michigan City, by way of Goshen, South Bend, and, if practicable, Laporte. The State pledged itself to construct this work within ten years.

The machinery essential to so great an undertaking was organized, a Board of Internal Improvements was created, expert engineers were secured, and a large army of workers put into

*W. H. Smith, *History of Indiana*.

the field. Through these experts and laborers the borrowed money found its way into circulation; prosperity instead of hard times "stared people in the face" and most of the people were more than satisfied. It was believed that the revenues from the public works would fill the State treasury and simply do away with taxation, and the dream of opulent times snuffed out the enforced prudence of the normal business world and begot a burning fever for more gain. "A period of wild speculation ensued. Those who owned one farm bought others, and those who owned none went into debt and purchased one."*

But though the improvement bill was "hailed by its friends as the dawning of a new era in the history of our legislation, essential to the prosperity of our people, and highly creditable to the character of Indiana,"† there was a minority who saw breakers ahead, and even among its ardent supporters there was not lacking those whose foresight and sagacity begot premonitions, as is shown by this excerpt from Governor Noble's message of December 5, 1836 (House Journal, 1836, p. 19): "There must," he says, "be foresight and stability in our legislation so as to continue and increase the confidence of the people at home, and maintain the just credit of the State abroad. Until our success is complete our duties will not terminate, and whilst indulging our fancies with the prospect of a bright future, it should not be forgotten that during the progress of every public work like ours there has been a financial pressure from which we can claim no exemption. An overflowing prosperity will follow profuse disbursements of the public funds. With its current we will all be swept along, and, seduced by the times, we will live high, purchase freely, contract debts and plunge into other extravagances at which our present notions of economy would revolt. And when these disbursements are reduced, when the heaviest demands are made upon us for the support of the Treasury, we shall have parted with the means placed in our hands. Such a state of things will hardly fail to bring upon us a pressure, and when the dark period arrives, there may be some so forgetful of its past benefits as to complain of the system."

*Smith, v. I, p. 280.

†Elbert Jay Benton's Wabash Trade Route, p. 54; quoted from *Lafayette Journal and Free Press* of January 29, 1856.

Despite these forebodings, however, the framer of the Message permitted himself to see only a bright and hopeful outcome, and he proceeded to point out the policy whereby there would be thrown into the Treasury each year, not only a sufficient supply for the demands upon it, but a continuous handsome balance that would prepare the State for any crisis.

But time proved the wisdom of the first and not of the second of these predictions. In a word, the sanguine hopes of the friends of the great system were but short-lived, and so swiftly did adversity follow that three years after the public works began they were deliberately abandoned in the midst of construction and after an expenditure of something more than five and a half millions of dollars, for at least one and a half millions of which there was no return. "The State abandoned outright three of its works: The Jeffersonville and Crawfordsville roads, after expending \$339,183.18; the Lafayette and Indianapolis road, after expending \$73,142.87; the work on the Wabash rapids, after expending \$14,288.42. The Whitewater Canal, projected from Lawrenceburg to the mouth of Nettle creek, 76½ miles, was completed for 31 miles between the Ohio river and Brookville. The work cost \$1,099,867. It was later completed by a private company and maintained in successful operation for some years. Rents and tolls had brought the State \$9,902.41. The northern division of the Central Canal was sold to private parties in 1850 and 1851. It had cost the State something over \$863,209.88. The State received in tolls and rent \$13,720.13. Similarly the Madison & Indianapolis railroad passed into private control after costing the State \$1,624,605.05, and returning \$63,182.32. No part of the Erie and Michigan canal was finished. A feeder and surveys cost the State \$156,324. The water power of the Northport feeder dam was available, and that was conveyed to Noble county for school purposes. On the Central Canal between Indianapolis and Evansville \$574,646.49 was expended, on the Cross Cut, \$436,189.88."*

This abandonment "caused wide-spread disaster, bankrupting most of the contractors and leaving hundreds and thousands of laborers without pay for the work they had done,"† and it left

*Benton.

†Smith.

the State under an enormous debt without the ability to pay even the accruing interest, which was honorably discharged only after years of financiering, and which all but resulted in the disgrace of repudiation.

The causes of this disastrous outcome were various. In part it is attributed to the financial distress that swept over the country in 1837. Another factor was unwise management. Instead of proceeding judiciously and slowly in the floating of bonds, and completing one work at a time, thus securing speedy returns from tolls, there was a politic attempt to satisfy the clamorous demands of the sections to be benefited and to supply them all at once with their canals, roads and railroads. Thus, to balance the vast expenditures there was no income, save a slight one from the Wabash Canal, which had previously reached a stage of service. "To add to the State's embarrassment, the price of labor, provisions and material increased the cost of the various works far above the original estimates," and yet again, bonds had been sold on credit, and, owing to the subsequent panic in the business world, sums amounting to more than three million dollars were a total loss. These and other causes that would seem to be inseparable from government paternalism* operated fatally. Some of the works, such as the Whitewater canal, the Madison railroad and some minor features of this system, were transferred to private companies that extended and operated them. The Wabash canal was for the time retained by the State. The utter loss of the work on the unopened canals may fairly be considered as due to the succeeding era of railroads which speedily made canal construction practically obsolete.

For the better part of a decade legislation in Indiana was fronted by the State's huge and steadily accruing debt, and the seeming impossibility of lifting the burden. The solution was made possible, eventually, by the creditors themselves. In 1845-'46 the population of the State was estimated at 800,000, the taxable property at \$118,500,000, the voters' poll-tax at \$124,000. The total debt per capita was a little over \$20, and the wealth per capita about \$140. For five years Indiana's bondholders had received no interest on their investments, the ultimate re-

*See Autobiography of Philip Mason, p. 172.

covery of the principal was a matter of serious doubt, and the depreciated bonds were being quoted at 40 cents on the dollar. Among the bondholders were not only large capitalists, but many persons of limited means that depended on their investments and were actual sufferers by the non-payment of their interest. Their straits demanded some remedy, if remedy were possible.

As an agent for these desperate creditors Charles Butler, a New York attorney, appeared at the legislative session of 1845-'46 with a plan whereby the State might satisfy its bondholders. This plan which, in substance was eventually accepted, is embodied in the law known as the "Butler Bill" (General Laws, 1846) and is to the effect that the bondholders should receive as part payment of the debt the Wabash and Erie Canal, then in operation from Lafayette eastward, with its tolls and unsold lands. A part of the stipulation was that out of the sales of these lands the new owners should also complete the canal to Evansville. The property was put into the hands of three trustees appointed, two by the creditors and one by the State, and with this transfer Indiana was happily rid of the most galling burden she has ever been saddled with.

G. S. C.*

OLD BLOCKHOUSE STILL STANDING.

According to a newspaper correspondent† there still stands a half-mile west of Petersburg, in Pike county, a blockhouse of the war of 1812. The accompanying picture shows it to be a large, two-story cabin of heavy logs and provided with portholes. It was occupied during the war by Hosea Smith and family, together with his neighbors, who came to it as a refuge.

*The unsigned article on the Wabash & Erie canal is also by the editor.

†*Indianapolis News*, March 9, 1907.

PIONEER LIFE.

BY BENJAMIN S. PARKER.

PAPER NO. III.

Early Credit System and Scarcity of Money—The Backwoods Cabin and Its Construction—Improvements; the Hewed Log House—Capacity of the "Hoosier's Nest"—Household Equipment; Culinary Utensils; the Fireplace; "Reflector" and "Dutch Oven"; Home-Made Woodenware; the Gourd; Furniture; the Loom and the Spinning-Wheel.

THE first settlers of Henry county were, as a rule, poor people. After the young pioneer had paid for his half-quarter or quarter section of land at the government price of \$1.25 per acre, he seldom had any money left with which to improve it or for the support of his family, and credit was a necessity. Thus the county was literally cleared up and improved on credit. The conditions of the times begot this custom, and the merchants and other business men, perforce, gave credit freely, and these in return received from the great eastern houses long credit, their accounts sometimes being carried year after year. Notwithstanding delays in payment, however, little money was lost, for honesty of purpose was the rule then, and the pioneers paid their debts as faithfully and promptly as their accumulations would permit.

Under these circumstances it is obvious that the settler could enjoy few luxuries. Life was a struggle to discharge the obligations hanging over him and for the bare necessities. He and his family had in large measure to be self-supporting, in the matter of clothes as well as food, and all are familiar with the story of the spinning-wheel and the loom, and the home-made fabrics, as well as the table supplies wrung from the forest and the clearing.

The backwoods cabin was, perhaps, as primitive a structure as was ever adopted by a civilized people. John Finley, in his famous "Hoosier's Nest," describes it as

"A buckeye cabin,
Just big enough to hold Queen Mab in."

Finley's picture of this domicile, both inside and out, is true to life, but it must be said that the "buckeye" cabin was hardly the typical one, as other logs, such as sugar-tree, beech, ash and poplar, being more durable, were generally used. Buckeye, however, being easily worked, sometimes served, and it is said that these, sending out sprouts during the first summer, would cover the walls with greenery, partially concealing the house amid the foliage of the woods. For these cabins, when of the most primitive form, the surrounding forest furnished practically everything. Logs of a uniform size, notched and saddled at the ends, formed the walls, the openings being sawed out; long poles laid across from gable to gable served the purpose of both rafters and sheeting, and the clapboards, weighted down with other poles, made the sheltering roof. Logs hewed to an even surface formed the puncheon floor. The rude door, with its wooden latch, was hung on wooden hinges, and even the fireplace, a cavernous recess of smaller logs and rived slabs, lined "from the red clay on the hill," was fashioned from the material at hand.

A more specific description of some of these features of construction may be permissible. The opening for the fireplace, from five to ten feet wide, was sawed out of the wall, as were the windows and doors. From this opening outward was built an enclosure like a pen, of small, split logs, the outer ends notched and saddled, as were the corners of the cabin, and the inner ends secured to the ends of the house logs by pins driven in. Inside of this three-walled enclosure a similar temporary one was built with a space of twelve or fifteen inches between the two sets of walls, and into this space moist clay was firmly pounded and left to dry. When the false wall was removed or burned away this clay formed a protecting back and jambs for the fireplace, extending four or five feet up, and above this was constructed the chimney of rived sticks built up in a diminishing square and heavily plastered with clay. The hearth and bottom of the fireplace were made by filling in with clay to the level of the cabin floor and this was pounded with a maul until rendered hard and firm, then well wet with water and scraped to a smooth surface with a wooden scraper.

The chinks or spaces between the logs that formed the walls of the house were filled in with short sticks split to fit into the crevices as snugly as possible, and these were plastered over with tough clay or mortar, which shut out the weather very effectually. After the cabin was erected spaces were sawed out for doors and windows, and slabs secured to the ends of these sawed logs by wooden pins served at once to hold them in place and to make frames to the openings. To exclude the weather and admit light, the windows, before the introduction of glass, were covered by a sheet of paper stretched across and pasted to the frame and rendered semi-transparent by greasing. The doors were made of broad slabs fastened to cross battens by means of wooden pins. These battens were longer than the width of the door, the projecting ends being furnished with holes into which pins would set, and these pins were in other slabs or "heads" that were attached to the logs at the jamb of the door. The wooden latch was raised from the outside by a "latch-string" that passed through a small auger-hole and hung out. When this was drawn in the door was securely fastened.

These cabins, built entirely without the use of nails or any scrap of iron, were the most primitive of our backwoods domiciles. After the first years glass and other imported material became more or less common, and with the establishment of sawmills sawed boards took the place of hewed slabs. The next improvement in construction was the house of hewed logs. These, by comparison, presented quite a neat appearance, with their smooth walls and mortar daubing and with floors, frames and finishing of yellow poplar, and when of two or more rooms were considered particularly fine. They were sometimes of two stories, and the earlier taverns and business houses in the villages or on the principal highways were usually of this kind.

Some of these houses, while they would be considered small now, were regarded as spacious then, and indeed, their capacity for accommodation was something to be wondered at. The rearing in them of large families was the rule rather than the exception, and there was always room for friends and kinfolks. The taverns, by utilizing auxiliary space, were like the proverbial stage-coach, in which there is always room for one more. The late Mark L. Wilson kept a hewed log hotel a mile east of

Lewisville, known in its day as "The Buck Horn Tavern," in which, during the palmy days of the old National Road, he sometimes kept over a hundred guests of a summer's night by aid of the hay-mows and covered wagons of the movers.

The simple log-cabin home is an integral part of the earlier history of Indiana. To the rising generation it is almost unknown, except by hearsay, and yet in these humble abodes, which may be called veritable gifts of the forest, were nurtured a majority of the men who laid the foundations of the State and many of whom have reflected luster upon the name of Hoosier—true fledglings of the "Hoosier Nest."

The household equipment of the pioneers was primitive and rude. The late Dr. D. H. Stafford, who came to Henry county in 1823, gave the following as one of several plans for the construction of the beds: Holes were bored in a log of the wall at the proper height from the floor, and into these sticks were driven horizontally, the other ends being supported by upright stakes or posts. Upon the framework thus provided was woven a bottom of withes or bark or deer-skin thongs, which formed a support for the bedding. Privacy was sometimes secured by making the outer supporting posts high enough to be furnished with a concealing curtain.

Hooks on which to hang clothes or other articles were fashioned from the forked or crooked branches of trees, and forked sticks with the addition of pins inserted in the longer arm made pot-hooks which were caught over a pole or "cross-tree" that was fixed in the fireplace a safe distance above the fire, the pots being hung on the pins. An improvement on these was the "trammel-hook," formed of a flat bar of iron hooked at one end, while at the other an adjustable hook could be raised or lowered as desired and secured by means of an iron pin inserted in holes that were drilled along the bar. With the advent of brick chimneys came swinging cranes of iron. These, set in iron eyes embedded in the masonry, could be turned freely, the long arm carrying the pots out over the hearth when desired.

The common culinary utensils were, first of all, the rotund, bulbous-looking pot, constricted at the top with a flare above so

the lids would sit in safely; the long-handled frying-pan, and the iron oven for baking pone. This latter was a vessel perhaps three or four inches deep, set on legs and provided with an iron lid turned up around the edge. In it the thick loaf of corn bread was baked by setting it on a bed of coals with more coals piled upon the lid. A thin, smooth board or broad wooden paddle for the hoe cakes was also an essential, and sometimes long-handled waffle irons were part of the outfit. At a later date and with growing prosperity other cooking devices came into use. The "reflector" oven was considered a great invention. This utensil consisted of a light iron frame two to three feet in length, mounted upon short legs, to hold the baking and roasting pans. To the back part of this frame a flaring top was attached by hinges, so that it might be turned back when the cooking needed attention. The sides were also enclosed. This flaring top and sides, made of bright tin, presented a large opening toward the open fire which was supplemented by a bed of live coals drawn out upon the hearth, and from the hood, sides and back of tin the heat was reflected down upon the cooking. It served its purpose well, and surely no better bread, cakes or pies have ever been eaten anywhere than those our mothers used to bake in the old "reflectors" upon the hearth.

When the cook stove made its way into the early homes of the country it was hailed with delight by the majority of the pioneer women because it afforded such great relief to their faces, hands and arms that had been so continually blistered by the great open fires, but some adhered to the fireplace, the old utensils and the old culinary methods as long as they lived. A good many of the more prosperous families used the "Dutch ovens." These were made of small boulders or bricks and mortar, or else of tough clay, wrought and beaten into shape, and burned by slow fires built within. They were usually set upon wooden platforms aloof from the house, by reason of danger from fire, and were protected by a shed. They were principally used in the summer time. In appearance they were rounded domes, not unlike the old-fashioned beehive. The fire was built in them and then raked out and the baking set upon the floor, the body of the oven retaining enough heat to do the cooking.

The woodenware of the household was often made by the

pioneer himself. Trays, large and small, were made from the soft poplar, buckeye and basswood, and these took the place of most of the present-day tin- and crockery-ware. The churn was sometimes a mere trough and paddle. The hominy pestle was a solid beech or maple stump with a bowl-shaped cavity burned in the top to hold the grain while being pounded, and a similar stump cut as smooth as possible made the chopping-block for meat. The rude trough hollowed out from a short log split in half that was used to catch sap from the sugar trees is still a familiar relic from the olden time.

For drinking and dipping vessels the common article was the gourd—one of the most adaptable and convenient gifts of nature to man. In an age when manufactured conveniences were hard to get the gourd was a boon, and in every cabin home it played a conspicuous part. Of many sizes and shapes, it served, when properly scraped out and cleansed, a variety of purposes. It hung as a dipper beside the spring or the well with its long sweep, and in the same capacity it was a companion to the cider barrel and the whisky jug; it was used at the table, at the lye kettle or at the sugar camp for soup, soap or sap; a large one properly halved made a wash-pan or a milk-pan, or, cut with an opening, it became a receptacle for the storing of divers things; a small one was used by the grandmother to darn the family socks over; the boy used one to carry his bait in when he went fishing and the baby used another for a rattle. A veritable treasure was the gourd, and it should be celebrated in song.

There were various curious articles used in the pioneer homes that are now quite obsolete. One of these was the dough-break—a clumsy-looking wooden machine for kneading batches of dough. Another was a yoke that fitted across the shoulders with a thong hanging from either end whereby two buckets of water could be carried, leaving the hands free to carry two more if desired. Among the more well-to-do families, and at a later date, perhaps, we find metal warming-pans which, filled with live embers, were used to iron the sheets of a cold night; lanterns of perforated tin; big dog-irons presenting fantastical fronts of brass; tinder-boxes with their contents of flint, steel, little powder-horns and “punk” from rotten logs, used to start the fires; turning-spits for the meat roasts; candle-molds with

balls of cotton wicking; long tin horns and conch shells to call the men to dinner, and many other conveniences now considered quaint and sought for relics.

As the country grew, many of the home-made articles were supplanted by the products of local artificers. The neighborhood potter supplied rude queensware, such as milk-pans, crocks, jars, jugs, pitchers, and even teapots. This ware was generally used in Henry county fifty or sixty years ago. The village cabinet-maker was an expert, as handsome specimens of his handicraft still to be found will testify. His chairs, cupboards, bureaus and sideboards were made to last as well as to sell, and the furniture put up by such artists in wood as John or Miles Heacock or Jacob Brenneman was good for generations. The writer knows of rockers in this county that have been in use for seventy-five years or more, and the old splint-bottomed chairs with woven seats of thin hickory strips are still to be found in country homes. Twisted corn-husks were also often woven into chair bottoms. Wild cherry, which was common, was a favorite wood for furniture, and those old cherry specimens of the local cabinet-makers' handiwork are still prized by collectors.

One important piece of pioneer furniture, if so it might be called, unknown to the modern household, was the loom, which in the days of home-made fabrics was almost indispensable. The space this ponderous machine occupied in a small cabin made it a serious incumbrance, and hence a period would be devoted to the family weaving, after which the loom could be taken apart and stowed away, unless, as sometimes happened, one had a separate loom-room. The excellence of the work done upon these rude, home-made implements is a matter for wonder now, as one examines preserved specimens. Not only have those blankets, jeans and various cloths a surpassing durability, but some fabrics, such as coverlets and curtains, exhibit a remarkable artistic taste and skill, both in the dyeing of the yarns and the weaving of complicated figures.

Complementary to the loom were the spinning-wheels—a big one for the wool and the familiar little one for the flax. The skilful use of these was a part of the education of every girl, and in the ears of many an old man and woman the resonant hum of it still lingers as the sweet music of a day that is past.

INDIANA.

[This poem is probably by Sarah T. Bolton, though not included in her collected works. It was first published in 1835 in the *Indiana Democrat*, which paper was then edited by Nathaniel Bolton, husband of the poetess. This copy is from the *Republican and Banner*, of Madison, November 12, 1835.]

Home of my heart! thy shining sand,
Thy forests and thy streams,
Are beautiful as fairyland
Displayed in fancy's dreams.

Thy sons are brave and proud of thee,
Thy daughters fair and bright
As nature's flowers that carpet thee,
Or stars that gild thy night.

Hearts are thine, the kindest, best,
That heaven has given to earth,
And brilliant gems are on thy breast,
Of intellectual worth.

Free as thy sparkling waters
Is each heart that throbs in thee;
Save to heaven and thy fair daughters
None ever bow the knee.

Greatness of soul, true dignity,
And favored sons of fame
Are thine, but pride of ancestry
In thee is but a name.

Home of a thousand happy hearts,
Gem of the far wild west,
Ere long thy sciences and arts
Will gild the Union's crest.

Thy skies are bright, thy airs are bland,
Thy bosom broad and free;
We need not wave a magic wand
To know thy destiny.

Great spirits bled and, dying, gave
The stars and stripes to thee;
Thy sons would die that trust to save
In pristine purity.

S. T. B.

UNNAMED ANTI-SLAVERY HEROES OF OLD NEWPORT.

[A paper read by Dr. O. N. Huff, of Fountain City, at a meeting of the Wayne County Historical Society, September 23, 1905.]

A NUMBER of weeks ago I listened to a beautiful sermon delivered in this church, the minister using as a basis for her discourse the two words "and others."

The Apostle Paul in writing to the Hebrews enumerates the many great deeds of faith of the patriarchs and prophets, and then exclaims, "And what shall I more say, for the time would fail me to tell of Gideon and of Barak and of Samson and of Jephtha, of David also, and of Samuel and the prophets," who through faith did great and mighty things. "And others had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonments."

In recent accounts of anti-slavery days in Old Newport, which extended over a series of years, or until Abraham Lincoln with one stroke of his mighty pen broke the shackles from all slaves in the United States, everything centers around Levi Coffin, and other names are rarely mentioned. Newspaper correspondents come long distances to see the house in which he lived, and to get photographs of the same and write long articles of the brave and courageous things he did for the poor slaves seeking freedom. I would not for one moment lessen in the slightest degree the grand and noble work of Levi Coffin, but I would at least say, "and others," who for the sake of humanity "suffered cruel mockings, yea, moreover, bonds and imprisonments," and persecutions and religious ostracism. The work of helping fugitive slaves began very early in the history of the old town, but was not thoroughly organized until Levi Coffin took his position at the helm, and by his very prudence and boldness, gave confidence to all those disposed to engage in the dangerous work.

In the year of 1840 Arnold Buffum visited Newport in the interest of the anti-slavery cause. He was a Friend from Massachusetts—a man of great power and fine presence—and by his eloquent and persuasive speech did an immense service to the cause of abolitionism. Soon after this there began the organ-

ization of anti-slavery societies. The first State society was held at Newport and was attended by delegates from various parts of the State. Daniel Worth was made president. A number of State societies were held at Newport and at Greensboro, Henry county.

The interest grew in intensity. The advocates of emancipation of slaves became very bold in all they said and did, and the opponents to the so-called abolitionists and their methods equally bold and unyielding. The church itself was shaken to its very foundation, and the climax finally came in the Yearly Meeting of 1842, when the meeting for sufferings reported eight of their number as disqualified to fill the stations they occupied in that body.

"Immediately after the last session of the yearly meeting a large number of anti-slavery Friends convened in the meeting-house to confer upon the situation. Before they had opportunity to discuss the condition of affairs, John Maxwell walked into the ministers' gallery and in the name of the trustees demanded of those present that they immediately leave the house. He first called them Friends, then as if correcting himself, he said he did not know whether they were Friends or not; he would call them people. Another Friend then proposed that as they were so arbitrarily denied the use of the house for the purpose which brought them together, that they meet at Newport, nine miles north, the next morning at 9 o'clock. It was united with and the people retired. Next morning at 9 o'clock there was a large assembly gathered at Newport and continued in conference till 11 o'clock, when it adjourned till 2 o'clock to give place to the regular week-day meeting. From 2 o'clock this conference continued until near sunset.

"Entire harmony prevailed; the spirit of love and prayer overshadowed the meeting, under the influence of which devout supplication went up to the throne of mercy and grace for Divine counsel and aid in this hour of sore conflict."

From that hour on the public attention was called to Newport more than ever before as the center of the anti-slavery movement in this section of the country. Most of the citizens of the town of whatever denomination were in sympathy with the work, and under the perfected organization everything moved

along in excellent harmony for the care of the fugitive slaves. Levi Coffin could not have accomplished so much if there had not been so many faithful helpers. There were times when it was wiser and safer to divide the number of slaves until they could safely travel to the next station. It was often necessary to raise money for them, for there were unavoidable expenses. Oftentimes they were almost naked and shoeless, so that clothing and shoes had to be supplied. There was a sewing society organized where the good women met to prepare clothing for the fleeing fugitives. The trains bearing these fugitives nearly always traveled in the night, so wagons and horses had to be supplied, and reliable conductors who would safely pilot them to the next station. All these things could not be done by one man, and Levi Coffin was never hindered in his work by lack of efficient helpers. He aided many scores of slaves on to freedom, an average of about one hundred each year while he lived at Newport, and he left the place and the work with great reluctance, but was finally persuaded to go to Cincinnati in 1847 to take charge of the wholesale store in that city, which kept only goods produced by free labor.

This was fifteen years before the emancipation proclamation, yet the work went right on at Newport during all those years, and no slave was ever turned away. "I was an hungered and ye fed me, naked and ye clothed me, homeless and ye took me in."

A number of free colored people of Old Newport were quite active and reliable in caring for the fugitives and for any service in their power to give. Chief among them were William Bush, William Davidson, Douglas White and James Benson, but a number of others were equally ready to lend a helping hand. I have been told William Bush was the chosen captain of the forces organized to meet the famous Kentuckians who threatened to burn the town and other dreadful things. While these Kentuckians were in the center of town and trying to gather some clew to their missing slaves, they offended a colored man by the name of Cal Thomas who had a gun on his shoulder, and he declared he would shoot and shoot to kill, but he was quieted and led away.

Eli Osborn, a friend who was always active in the anti-slavery

cause, was standing by and he told the Southerners that he did not believe in fighting, but if they would get down off their horses he would be glad to play a game of marbles with them. Eli Osborn a number of times harbored slaves in his home, and in his work of hauling between Cincinnati and Newport, had opportunities of carrying the escaping fugitives in his wagon. Linden Osborn, his son, who is still a living citizen of Fountain City, tells of aiding from southwestern Ohio to Newport the famous slave, John White, of whom Levi Coffin writes in his book. And this was not all that Linden Osborn did.

Perhaps the man who next to Levi Coffin did the most in directly aiding fugitive slaves previous to and after 1847 was William Hough, who lived just across the creek where Elwood Boren now resides. Time and again did he care for fleeing slaves and contribute liberally of his money in aid of the work. His daughter, Mary H. Goddard, writes me that she well remembers one morning when her two older sisters prepared breakfast for seventeen runaway slaves. Levi Coffin speaks in his book of William Hough's house as a "noted stopping place on the underground railroad." His daughter speaks of the time when a number of Kentuckians came with a search warrant to search her father's house. "It was a bright moonlight night," she says, "and they could be seen very plainly. The man with the search warrant read it aloud. We listened and heard father say: 'Now, I can tell thee, thee will not find thy darkey, for he is not here in my house, but thee may look all thee wants to.' So then, brother Daniel went with the old gentleman all over the house, carrying the light. When they came to the attic over the old kitchen my brother opened the little attic door and said: 'Here is where we keep our runaway darkies, but there are none in there tonight,' when the old gentleman put in his head, looking all around. Then, when they came to our bedroom door he was going to come in, but brother Daniel said: 'This is my mother's bedroom. You can't go in there.' And the old man replied: 'Maybe he is under the bed.' This was the last of the search warrant, and father again said to him: 'Didn't I tell thee he was not here?'"

Mrs. Goddard says they were in search at this time for the famous Louis Talbert, the slave who escaped from the South

and afterward made a number of trips back to the South and piloted many away from the land of bondage to freedom. He was finally captured at Indianapolis, then on his way South to make another effort to lead others from slavery to a free country. His old master was glad to capture him, and declared he would make an example of him, for he said "Talbert had led away \$37,000 worth of slave property." His mistress plead so earnestly for him that he was only punished by being sold into slavery farther south, where it would be much more difficult to escape. On the way down the Mississippi river he leaped from the boat and made his escape in the darkness, and after many trials and hardships he again came in the night to William Hough's house. His daughter says: "I remember so well one night we heard some one hallooing at the north side of the house, and my father said: 'Who is there?' And he answered: 'Louis Talbert.' He then told us how his mistress begged for his life and of the final decision that he must be sold into the market farther south. I saw him once after I went to Cincinnati to teach," she continues. "He came to the Franklin-street school to see my brother. After this we never heard of him again, supposing they had caught and killed or sold him."

At one time or other Louis Talbert attended school at the Union Literary Seminary, which was taught for many years by Ebenezer Tucker, a prominent educator and anti-slavery man. In his history of Randolph county he speaks of the times the Kentuckians were after Talbert. He says: "The hunters came to Richmond, got assistance, and sixteen men came in the night on horseback to Newport. Louis had been there but had left. They found no fugitives. Three men started at midnight on foot to come to the institute to tell Louis to get out of the way. They came just at daylight and asked: 'Is Louis Talbert here?' 'No, why?' 'If he is, he must make himself scarce; they are after him; sixteen men came into Newport last night and will be right up here.' Louis had 'vamoosed' already. They did not come after him or find him anywhere else." Tucker further says that after Talbert was captured at Indianapolis and his friends supposed he was done-for, it was just six weeks from that date, "his black face popped in at the door of the institute." "Why, Louis, we thought you down in New Orleans by

this time." "Oh, no. I was never born to be sold down the river."

Daniel Hough, son of William, in a letter which I hold, written in 1874, says: "One time I conducted one very rainy day sixteen runaway slaves to Winchester and out to William Rhinehard's," and he also remembered "some very interesting runaways and their stories." The daughter says: "I remember the old slave woman who slept with the hogs to keep from freezing, who afterward came to my father's house. I remember Picayune and the meeting of Henry and his family. Henry was a slave and he stayed at my father's house until his family, who were free, came on. They met upstairs in our house. My mother was upstairs when they met. I remember we wanted to know if she saw them. She said: 'No, I looked the other way.' "

William Hough's father, Jonathan Hough, and brothers, Hiram, Levi and Moses, were all active in the anti-slavery cause. Jonathan lived with the youngest son, Moses Hough, and family, and fugitives were repeatedly cared for in their house. Jonathan Hough was one of the early pioneers in the settlement of New Garden township, and entered the land comprising the farms where William E. Elliott and Elwood Boren now live. Israel Hough lived just north of William Hough, and his house was searched also by the noted Kentuckians.

Benjamin Thomas was a true and tried hero in the interest of the colored race. His home was always welcome to the escaping black man and many were made to feel that "a friend in need was a friend indeed." It was Benjamin Thomas who gave 120 acres of land northeast of Spartansburg for the establishment of a school for the education of the colored people. This was the Union Literary Seminary referred to in this paper. Besides the free colored pupils, Mr. Tucker says as many as ten fugitive slaves attended the school at one time. William F. Davis, now living in Fountain City, tells of conducting a train carrying seven "runaways" from Newport to the home of Ebenezer Tucker.

Daniel Puckett, Dr. Henry H. Way and Benjamin Stanton were three very prominent characters in those stirring times in Old Newport. They were three of the eight who were disqual-

ified by the meeting for sufferings in Indiana Yearly Meeting of 1842 for the active part they took in the abolishment of human slavery. They were each always ready with voice or pen or personal deeds to do whatever lay in their power to promote the interests of the fleeing fugitives or in arousing a public sentiment against the curse of human bondage. Daniel Puckett was a minister in the Society of Friends. Dr. Way was a practicing physician and was many times called upon for professional services to those seeking freedom who by great exposure and fatigue became ill or disabled in any way. He was a brave and true man, a fine debater and true counselor. Benjamin Stanton was editor of *The Free Labor Advocate*, whose pen was ever ready in favor of justice and human rights. They were all prominent in the separation which took place in the Society of Friends because of slavery, and Benjamin Stanton was clerk of the first yearly meeting held by anti-slavery Friends. Daniel Puckett accompanied Arnold Buffum to some of the neighboring meetings when he was speaking for the formation of anti-slavery societies, and Jonathan Hough went with him to Winchester and other places in Randolph county.

Dr. Hiram Bennett was a man of fine ability, who gave up his profession to accept the position of lecturer for the first anti-slavery society formed in the State, at a salary of \$500 a year. He was an excellent speaker and traveled over a large territory, and, like all speakers against slavery, suffered much persecution and opposition.

When Levi Coffin was summoned before the grand jury at Centerville, where he gave answers which are so often quoted, he was accompanied by Dr. Henry Way, Samuel Nixon and Robert Green, who had been called for the same purpose, namely, to convict them, if possible, of aiding escaping slaves. Samuel Nixon kept a public house a number of years and often had as guests the men who were in search of runaway slaves, yet he did much in the cause of freedom and against slavery. Like many other members of the Society of Friends who left the South to escape the influences of slavery, he left the State of Virginia in 1827 or 1828 and settled in New Garden township, and a little later in Newport. Robert Green was a good man who was always ready for any service in his power to give. Samuel Charles

was another prominent Friend who was proscribed by the body so-called, but he always remained true to his convictions in the interests of human freedom. Harvey Davis, Harmon Clark, William R. Williams and Jonathan Unthank were among the number who were relied upon for help for these destitute people; to receive them into their homes, or with horses and wagons and conductors, pilot them to a nearer station to the land of freedom, and each no doubt could have told thrilling incidents that were a part of their own experiences.

And what shall we say of all the good women who were ready to get up at any time of night to receive these unfortunate people into their homes; oftentimes destitute of sufficient clothing, possibly wet and covered with mud, hungry, and occasionally sick or injured. Think you it did not require a deep conviction of duty and a heroic courage to meet such additional labors to their already full household cares? Nothing less than love of justice and pity and sympathy for the oppressed (the mother heart often appealed to) could win such sacrificing labor under such adverse circumstances. Their names should be placed on the honored rolls of those who stood true in the cause of human liberty.

There was an organization of young men who obligated themselves for certain duties in aid of the colored people. They sometimes would hire speakers. Another duty which must have required much fortitude was to take regular turns and ride to the "settlement" beyond Spartansburg to teach in the Sabbath school. Among their number were Zeri and Moses Hough, Daniel and Jesse Hill, Thomas and Isaac Woodard, Ira Marine, Calvin Thomas, Daniel Thomas and others.

John Lacey was another reliable worker, and his son, William Lacey, did more than any one was ever able to find out. He belonged to a sort of secret service who patrolled the banks of the Ohio river watching for escaping slaves and directing them to places of safety. He was the man who assisted Eliza Harris, of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," up the bank of the river near Ripley, O., after crossing it in midwinter with her child, on the floating cakes of ice. He confided to a very few how he watched with thrilling interest her dash for liberty on the Kentucky side with her pursuers in hot chase after her. When she reached the

river she hesitated, for it seemed hopeless, but when she realized that she was certain to be captured and separated from her child she clasped her boy more closely and leaped upon a cake of floating ice, and from that on to another, and another, and another. At times she seemed to be sinking and appeared as though she must be lost, but she would place her boy on the nearest floating ice and drag herself onto the same, and with renewed courage continued her daring escape, while Lacey on one side and her would-be captors on the other side watched her with dazed interest and consternation. Finally, with both her and her child nearly frozen, their clothing wet to the skin with the ice-cold water, and almost exhausted, she reached the Ohio side and was assisted up the bank by William Lacey and directed to a place of safety and protection. In her farther flight to Canada she was shifted from the Sandusky line to the Indiana line, which passed through Newport, and she was at the home of Levi Coffin a number of days. Her name will live for centuries in the story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and the man who assisted her up the river bank at Ripley was at one time a resident of Old Newport.

To still further bear testimony against the traffic in human slavery, many of these good people decided that they could not use the products of slave labor and maintain consciences void of offense, so there were established "free-labor stores" or depots where such goods could be obtained. This was the cause of Levi Coffin going to Cincinnati in 1847. He was chosen to manage the wholesale or distributing store for free-labor merchandise. The store at Newport was kept by Joel Parker, an active anti-slavery man. These goods were necessarily more expensive and oftentimes not so attractive, but that did not prevent these heroes of human liberty from bearing testimony against the degrading influence of slavery.

Nathan Thomas, son of Benjamin Thomas, made several trips to the South in search of cotton, sugar and other products that were not produced by slave labor. He was a prudent but valiant worker in the anti-slavery organization. His wife was the widow of Zeno Reynolds. Her name before marriage was Williams, and she was one of the first teachers in the school established for colored people by the gift of Benjamin Thomas.

After Levi Coffin removed to Cincinnati he frequently sent

"runaways" by the Newport route through West Elkton and the points in Union county. At one time he brought in his own carriage two valuable slaves, John and Mary. At Daniel Clark's, south of Richmond, he overtook four other slaves whom he started from Cincinnati two nights before, but they had not traveled so rapidly, moving along at night. From Daniel Clark's they came on to Newport in broad daylight, much to the fear of James Haworth, for Coffin had urged Haworth to get his carriage ready and drive with him to Newport, for they must hasten on because such valuable property would soon be vigorously sought for. When they drew near Richmond, Haworth suggested that they pass around the city, because then, as now, it was not fully alive to public duty, and could hardly be trusted. As they came near to Moffitt's mill on the east fork of Whitewater, which was run at that time by Benjamin Fulghum and William Kenworthy, they saw these two men with others at work near the mill. When they got opposite, Coffin sang out at the top of his voice the words of an old anti-slavery song:

"Ho! the car Emancipation,
Moves majestic through the nation."

The men stopped work to cheer the train on its way. It arrived safely at Newport, Coffin, with John and Mary, stopping at the home of my father, Daniel Huff, while Haworth with his four moved on to William Hough's, just over the creek. The latter were in greater danger of pursuit, and they were hastened on by the Greenville route, and John and Mary a day later by the Winchester route.

There is still one other prominent worker that I must mention. Pusey Graves was a very brilliant and earnest man who began in early life to make speeches against slavery and gave lectures in the cause, and at the time James G. Birney was a candidate for President, Pusey Graves was a candidate for Congress on the same ticket. I can not do better than to quote a letter received two days ago from his son, Charles B. Graves, who is now one of the judges on the Supreme bench in the State of Kansas. He says:

"My father, Pusey Graves, was a very enthusiastic and active anti-slavery man. In his young days he attracted some atten-

tion by making anti-slavery speeches on the streets of Richmond. During the year when a candidate for Congress for the district of which Wayne county was then a part, on the ticket with James G. Birney for President, he made a very active campaign and was greeted with stale eggs several times. I have heard my mother tell of the condition of his clothes when he came home. He also traveled over the southern part of Indiana with a colored man named Lester, an ex-slave, whom father taught to read. This colored man was a great natural orator and made impressive and eloquent addresses.

"My father's home was a well-known stopping-place on the underground railroad. Fugitives often stopped there while we lived in Newport. Many passed through our house, and when I was a boy there some colored person was being taught to read whenever opportunity offered. When the notorious slave-hunting posse came to Newport four of the fugitives slept in my father's house, and afterward were employed by him to cut and rive "cooper stuff" out in the woods about three miles northeast of town, where they camped until the excitement died out. Pusey Graves and Dr. Stanton, I think, and perhaps others, bought a printing press, wrote articles and set type at night and printed an anti-slavery paper for some time, but of course they could not keep it up. We kept a copy of the paper until he returned from California, and I think he sent it to the Indiana State Historical Society. These are only a few of the events which I remember and have received as a part of the history of the family. My mother's father, John Mitchell, was on the road often with his team carrying fugitives north. Levi Coffin was a leader among the abolitionists, and they relied upon him for advice and cooperation, and like all leaders he was accredited with not only his own acts, but with much that justly belonged to others. While he was a great power and deserves much credit, still there are others, who, in a more humble way, did actual personal service and gave relief to fugitives that would, if known, compare favorably with the work of this great leader."

FIRST STATE FAIR IN INDIANA.

INDIANA'S first fair was held in Indianapolis, October 19-23, 1852, on the old military reservation, west of West street, now known as Military Park. It was largely through the efforts and influence of Joseph A. Wright, then governor of the State, that the institution was brought into being, and the hearty response when the movement was once under way showed that the time was right for the focussing of the State's industries.

The newspapers, which at that day reviewed local affairs but sparingly, devoted an unusual amount of space to advertising the fair both before and during its progress, and the following extract from an editorial shows the hopeful enthusiasm that greeted the occasion:

"A just pride in the utility and greatness of their pursuits will be generally infused among our farmers, mechanics and manufacturers. Standards of excellence in stock, of utility in machines, and of true taste in the elegant articles of comfort and luxury will be fixed in the minds of all. Progress in their respective pursuits will take the place of indifference in their minds. A laudable ambition to have the mantel decorated with a silver cup will actuate all, and thus feeling and acting, who can calculate the ultimate result?"

The people responded no less enthusiastically. By that time railroad communication was established to Madison, Terre Haute, Lafayette and Peru, and with the eastern counties by the Bellefontaine and Indiana Central (Panhandle) roads. These admitted of easy access to the capital from the various sections of the State. Half rates were given; the plank roads let animals pass free of toll, and the exhibits and the crowds came.

There were 1365 entries, with quite a showing of improved agricultural machinery. Among the greatest curiosities of the time were three sewing-machines (the Home, Wilson, and Singer). There was much live stock exhibited, especially hogs, sheep and cattle, and of the latter the Durham were by all odds the most in evidence. By reason of this feature the attendance was augmented by many stockmen from Kentucky. According

to the report of one paper, there were about 15,000 visitors the first day; on the second 25,000, and on Thursday, the third day, there were more people in town than the grounds could hold, and the other shows outside caught the overflow.

Among other features there was an address on Thursday delivered by John B. Dillon, the historian; and Friday and Saturday plowing matches were held out on Calvin Fletcher's farm. The gate receipts at twenty cents a head, for the five days of the fair amounted to something over \$4,600, which, according to the local papers, not only defrayed expenses but allowed the return of \$2,000 that had been borrowed of the State.

Altogether it was undoubtedly the liveliest week Indianapolis had ever known. In anticipation of the unusual crowds, side shows, great and small, flocked hither, all eager to catch the surplus Hoosier small change. The "Yankee" Robinson's "Athenæum," otherwise vaudeville troupe, gave three performances daily in a tent near the fair grounds, and Wells' Minstrels lured the crowds with time-honored jokes and burnt cork. A man named Diehl put up what he advertised as an "enormous pavilion" near the State House, where he let off fireworks a la Pain of modern pyrotechnic fame.

Toward the last came P. T. Barnum's Museum and Menagerie. Then there was a "grand exhibition of the World's Fair"—a reproduction by illuminated views of the famous Crystal Palace exposition; "Beard's Hoosier Panorama of 'Paradise Lost,'" at one of the churches, and divers other catch-pennies.

Added to all this the Democrats had a big torch-light procession which was to close with speaking at the Wright House where the New York store now stands. The Whigs, however, objecting to the Democratic program, gathered in numbers to howl down the speakers, and pandemonium resulted. Out of this affair a difficulty sprang up between George G. Dunn and W. A. Gorman which all but resulted in a duel.

The original intention, out of deference to the other leading towns of the State, was to shift the fair from place to place, giving Indianapolis every third year. In accordance with this idea Lafayette had it in 1853 and Madison in 1854, but this plan proved financially disastrous, and it was finally decided to hold it permanently at Indianapolis.

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GEORGE S. COTTMAN, *Editor and Publisher*

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

INDIANA ARCHIVES.

A Department of Archives in connection with the State Library, for which a limited appropriation was made some time ago, has at length become a reality, though its permanency, we believe, has not yet been established. Prof. Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College, in whose hands the work has been put, has spent the summer collecting and organizing material. Two features of Professor Lindley's plan that call for especial mention are (1) the discovery and purchase, for the State Library, of historical material; and, (2) the locating of material over the State that can not be purchased, and at least preparing an intelligent bibliography of the same, so that a student working through the library as a bureau of information can get on the track of as wide a range as possible of documents relating to his subject. The need of something of this kind is obvious to all who have attempted to write in Indiana history and aimed to do it with any thoroughness. Only such know the fragmentary and chaotic character of much of the material relating to important phases of our history, and will hail any effective attempt to add to that material. We await with interest the accomplishment of the archives department.

STATE HOUSE DOCUMENTS.

For many years there has been stored in the basement of the State House a great mass of books and papers relating to the business of the auditor's office from the beginning. These have recently been overhauled, sorted and put in orderly arrangement, with the result that many documents of decided value have been unearthed. Prominent among these are the original books of various land offices of the State, the records of the Jeffersonville office being especially full. A particularly noteworthy find was the unpublished Journal of the territorial House of Representatives of 1813, and this borrows further interest from the date, which was the year of the removal of the territorial capital from

Vincennes. Few particulars, in our published records, are given of that removal. These old records disclose, among other things, that one argument for the removal was the unsafe situation of Vincennes in view of the hostile disposition of the Indians and the necessity of removing the seat of government "to a place where the Archives of State and the claims of individuals should not be endangered." In pursuance of a resolution that the capital "be removed from Vincennes to some convenient place in said Territory," we further find that Lawrenceburgh, Madison, Vevay, Charleston, Jeffersonville, Clarksville and Corydon all advanced their claims to the distinction of which Vincennes was to be shorn. Madison in particular, under the wing of William McFarland, set forth her advantages in a stiff argument, backing the same by the offer of a thousand-dollar bonus.

CENTRAL OHIO VALLEY HISTORY CONFERENCE.

With a view to promoting throughout the central Ohio valley a wider interest in local history than now exists, our Ohio friends have taken the initiative and set on foot a plan for a history conference to be held in Cincinnati on November 29 and 30, 1907. Some twelve organizations of Cincinnati, representing history, archaeology and kindred interests, are back of this. The aim is to reach out over the territory named and enlist the cooperation of teachers of history, specialists in local history, members of patriotic organizations, etc. Out of it, it is hoped, will come some permanent cooperation among the various historical societies of the Ohio valley. At this writing the program can not be fully and accurately given, but Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, and Professor J. A. James, of the Northwestern University, will be the principal speakers. The former will discuss "Local History Societies," and the latter "The Teacher of the Social Sciences." Professor James's paper will be discussed by Professor S. B. Harding, of Indiana University, Dr. B. L. Jones, of the Louisville Manual Training High School, and Professor C. L. Martzoff, of Ohio University. These, respectively, will represent the university, the secondary schools and the grades. Other addresses will be on The Unpublished Collections of the Ohio Valley; Historical and Quasi-historical Literature of the Ohio Valley; Local Historical Periodicals of the Ohio Valley, Past and Present; Pos-

sible Methods of Cooperation; State Aid in Local History Work, and the Historical Work of State Librarians.

LOCAL HISTORY CONTRIBUTIONS.

Clay County Canal War.—Captain T. M. Robertson, of Brazil, Indiana, sends us a copy of the *Brazil Daily Times* of date June 21, 1907, containing an interesting account of the old-time trouble between citizens of Clay county and the lower Wabash canal. This article, signed "M. Artz," is said to contain facts hitherto unpublished. We regret that we have not space in this number to reprint it, and may do so at another time. In substance it relates that the canal company, at a risk to public health, maintained near the present town of Saline a great pond, known as Birch Creek reservoir, which covered nearly a thousand acres. Protests being unavailing, in 1854 the embankments and feeder-dam were repeatedly cut, letting out the water and stopping navigation. Governor Wright offered a reward for the perpetrators, only to be ridiculed; the militia was called out, and the trouble was long after known as the "Reservoir War."

Early Muncie Letters.—The *Muncie Sunday Star* for June 23, 1907, publishes more than three columns of old letters that have considerable local interest. These were written by Margaret Blount, of Muncie, and extend in time from 1826 to 1864. These letters, well-written, sprightly and gossipy, make excellent reading and give graphic and intimate pictures of old "Muncietown" and its surroundings.

Historical Sketches of Cass County.—In our last issue we noticed a series of articles by W. S. Wright, on the early history of Logansport and Cass county, that have been running in the *Logansport Journal*. Since then we are in receipt of a circular announcing that these sketches, along with papers that have been read before the Historical Society of Logansport, have been published by Mr. Wright (who is secretary of the society) in a book of two hundred pages, covering a wide variety of themes relating to early Cass county, such as Pioneer Days; Indian Wars; the Mexican, Civil and Spanish Wars; School and Church Sketches; the Old Swimm'n' Holes; Bands of Other Days; Early Transportation and Early Families. The volume may be had for \$1.50 of W. S. Wright, Logansport, Ind.

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INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN INDIANA.

NO. IV—RAILROADS.

THE railroad in Indiana and the part it has played in the development of the commonwealth might well afford material for a volume. Here we can not pretend to more than a brief outline sketch, but in that sketch we shall attempt to touch upon the various phases of development in their due relations and make obvious the vast importance of this factor in transportation.

MOVEMENTS PRELIMINARY TO THE RAILROAD ERA.

The steam railroad in the United States, in its first crude, experimental status, was about five years old when the spreading interest becomes traceable in Indiana. The startling proposition that the ancient difficulties of transportation by land could be vastly lightened by a mechanical force, born of simple fire and water, that should convey great loads at an unheard-of speed, did not convince the conservatives as to its practicability, and it required something like courage to exploit it. One of our first men publicly to advocate it was Governor James B. Ray, who, along with his many curious aberrations, seems to have been gifted with real insight and prevision. As early as 1827 he advanced an argument for railways as against canals, and even advocated a line from Lawrenceburgh up the White-water valley to connect with the National Road. In his legislative message of 1830 he suggested the union of the lakes with the Ohio river by the grand scheme of a railroad from Detroit river across Michigan to Lake Michigan, thence, by way of Indianapolis, to the Ohio; and he further pointed out that the terminus at Louisville of the Lexington & Ohio railroad, which was then proposed, would seem to mark out that point as the proper southern terminus of an Indiana road. In this he re-

vealed a sagacity decidedly in advance of that of the Indiana legislature which, six years later, established such terminus at Madison. The falls of the Ohio, with its three cities of Jeffersonville, New Albany and the Kentucky metropolis, and not the city of Madison, was undoubtedly the logical stopping-place for our first road, as is proved by the fact that the Madison road was ultimately swallowed up by the line between Jeffersonville and Indianapolis. Governor Ray's opulence of imagination led him into schemes and predictions that in his day passed for the rankest whimsicality. According to one of his biographers, he dreamed of a "grand scheme of railroad concentration at Indianapolis. Here was to be the head of a score of radiating lines. At intervals of five miles were to be villages, of ten miles towns and of twenty miles respectable cities." Subsequent history shows that the vagaries of a "crazy" man sometimes outrun the wisdom of his generation.

By 1831 the railroad idea was beginning to ferment. Ray in his message of that year speaks of lines that "are contemplated from Cincinnati and from Louisville to Indianapolis," and a legislative report from a committee on canals and internal improvements discusses the practicability of railroads as compared with canals. Public interest was promoted at this period, doubtless, by the exhibitions of a Kentucky genius, one Joseph Bruen, who traveled about with a miniature locomotive and coach and a portable track with which he demonstrated to the curious the wonderful possibilities of the steam engine by drawing his little coach full of people around his runway. This was the first locomotive to turn wheels in Indiana.

In 1832, for some reason not quite clear, there was a sudden, not to say spasmodic, impulse toward this form of internal improvement, as is indicated by the fact that this year eight different railroads were chartered by the Indiana legislature. This preliminary craze grew. In such history as we have upon the subject it is customarily represented that the construction of the Madison & Indianapolis road under the State's aid marks the very beginning of our railroad era; but it is an interesting though now quite forgotten fact, that before the State essayed that task at all the legislature was deluged with applications and something like thirty charters were granted to would-be

railroad corporations. These corporations were composed of the enterprising and public-spirited citizens of many communities all over the State, and the roads, had they all materialized, would have pretty well provided the various sections of the State with transportation routes. Even at that day the future importance of the capital as a railway town was, in a sense, foreshadowed, as eight of the proposed roads were to connect with Indianapolis. These incipient ventures may be mentioned more specifically. The first six charters were granted simultaneously by an act of February 2, 1832, and these were the Lawrenceburgh & Indianapolis; the Madison, Indianapolis & Lafayette; the Ohio & Lafayette (from falls of the Ohio via Salem to Lafayette); the Wabash & Michigan (from Lafayette to the site of Michigan City); the Harrison & Indianapolis (via Brookville and Rushville), and the New Albany, Salem, Indianapolis & Wabash. Immediately on the heels of these came the Richmond, Eaton & Miami and the Ohio & Indianapolis (Jeffersonville to Indianapolis via Columbus). The legislature following seems to have done nothing in this line, but that of 1833-'34 chartered the Evansville & Lafayette (to follow the Wabash valley); the Indianapolis & Lafayette (via Crawfordsville); the Leavenworth & Bloomington; the Indiana Northwest Railroad Company (from Michigan City to the National Road on the west side of the Wabash at Terre Haute), and a short road connecting New Albany and Jeffersonville. In 1835 Charlestown thought to relieve the handicap of its inland situation by a little steam road to the Ohio river, and the list was further swelled by the Buffalo & Mississippi (to cross the northern part of the State); the Indianapolis & Montezuma, and the Michigan City & Kankakee (to connect Lake Michigan with the navigable waters of the Kankakee). A year later followed the Crawfordsville, Covington & Illinois; the Princeton & Wabash; the Perrysville & Danville (Ill.); the Lafayette & Danville; the Bethlehem & Rockford (from Bethlehem, in Clark county, to Rockford, in Jackson county); the Jeffersonville & Vernon, and the Madison & Brownstown. In 1837 came the Michigan City & St. Joseph (Mich.); the Indianapolis & Michigan City; the Hudson (Laporte county) & New Buffalo (Mich.); the Ft. Wayne & Piqua (O.), and the Mount Carmel & New Albany.

These incorporations, extending over a period of five years, mark the railroad movement preliminary to any real construction. While the number of them and corresponding number of promoters drawn into the ventures would seem to indicate a strong tide of sentiment in favor of this innovation in transportation, there are further indications that capital generally and public confidence were slow to respond. With all the rush for charters little was done beyond an occasional sporadic stirring of the question by some local paper and, perhaps, an uncertain amount of surveying. The "little" referred to was to the credit of the Lawrenceburgh & Indianapolis company, which, as appears by the records, was the most energetic of the various companies and which, in 1854, actually got down to work. To this company belongs the honor of introducing the railroad in Indiana. The Madison & Indianapolis line is credited with the distinction of being the pioneer road, but as a matter of fact, before the Madison road was taken up by the State, and while the old Madison company was practically sacrificing its charter, the L. & I. company was surveying, constructing and establishing data for future roads. The construction was on an experimental strip of road, one and one-fourth miles in length, in the neighborhood of Shelbyville. The first railroad report in the State was, we believe, the one transmitted to the legislature by this company under date of December 5, 1834. It is a document of some interest. The implication is that the locality at Shelbyville was chosen because the cuts, embankments and other problems for the engineer at that point represented a fair average for experimental data. There was "one cut of five feet, one embankment of five feet and of one of ten, two curves and two bridges." The cost was \$1500 per mile. Of course there was no locomotive for the road, and in lieu thereof a horse-car was built and the great advantages of a track in facilitating traction was effectively demonstrated, if we can believe the statement that "one horse was found able to draw forty to fifty persons at the rate of nineteen miles per hour." This road was "opened" on the Fourth of July, 1834, at an expense of \$222.12½ for the car and \$12.62 for horses and drivers, \$60 of which was returned to the promoters in fares from those who treated themselves to a ride over the new road. Local tradition says that the occasion

was additionally celebrated by an old-time barbecue. This report, which is over the signature of James Blake, "President pro tem.," argues vigorously for the advantages of railroads and presents figures that purport to show that railroad transportation as compared with rates by wagon, etc., would save in one year nearly a quarter of a million dollars to ten specified counties, the estimates being based upon current tonnage and rates. The new values that would be given to stone, timber and firewood for steam mills is also dwelt upon, as are the prospects for liberal dividends to stockholders.

These arguments but reinforced others, equally ardent, advanced two years before by John Test, then president of the L. & I., who contributed to the *Indiana Palladium*, beginning March 17, 1832, a series of articles on railroads which are among the first if not the first elaborate discussions of the subject in the Indiana press. As presented by him, the L. & I. was to be a "link in a great chain," that was to be extended from Cincinnati to St. Louis by way of Indianapolis.

With all the zeal and enterprise of its promoters, however, the L. & I. company was doomed to delays many and vexatious ere it accomplished its dream of a connection with Indianapolis and the interior of the State. The difficulties of financing railroads at this stage of progress was probably the fatal obstacle to all these early ventures.* Public sentiment as expressed in the confidence of capitalists was not yet ripe, but the ripening process was slowly going on. Everybody realized that better transportation facilities were an ever-pressing need, but the cost of building and maintaining railroads seemed something prodigious. The problem took the form of a choice between improved wagon roads, canals and railroads, and there was frequent discussion of the respective merits of these. The macadam turnpike, which was much considered, was, of course, by far the cheapest of these improvements in localities where the material for it was to be found, but in other localities it was prohibitive. In the discussions the respective advantages of canals and railroads seemed to be about balanced. As to first cost, the argument was, perhaps, in favor of the railroad, as railroads were

*It may be added here that the development of the State at this period could not have supported these railroads had they been built.

then constructed, but in the building of the latter the cost was far more hypothetical than that of canals, with which engineers were more familiar. The expensive machinery for locomotion and the vehicles for carriage, together with the frequent repairs on these and on the roadbed, made the cost of maintenance of the railroad formidable and problematical, but the canals, from floods and other causes, were also subject to expensive repairs. The enormous tonnage that could be moved with small and cheap motor power was vastly in favor of the canal, but offsetting this the railroad offered the no small advantage of time saved by swift conveyance. Again, canals in our northern latitude would be put wholly out of service during the more severe winter months, while railroad service, comparatively independent of weather contingencies, would be continuous. Another consideration was that railroad machinery and much of the material for construction, being imported, took money out of the country, while money expended on canals remained here; and, finally, the water-power afforded by canals as a "by-product" built up mills and other industries along their lines.

These were the arguments, in brief, that were put before capitalists and the people during that uncertain period when the transportation problem was pressing for solution and the financial and social conditions counseled conservatism and prudence. That the practically untried railroad won but slowly over the better-known canal is evidenced by the fact that when the State finally took up a system of public works there were included in it four canals and only one railroad—the famous "Madison" road.

THE MADISON & INDIANAPOLIS ROAD.*

The earlier years of the Madison & Indianapolis railroad present a phase of railroad history that is unique, at least in this State. It was one of the first roads incorporated, its charter bearing the same date as that of the Lawrenceburgh & Indianapolis. For four years, as a private corporation, it lay all but dormant, so far as actual performance was concerned. Just why the

*A history of Jefferson county now being prepared by Miss Drusilla L. Cravens, of Madison, devotes a long chapter to the Madison & Indianapolis railroad which, when published, will probably be the most thorough history of the road that has appeared in print. The sketch we here present deals with this special history only so far as it is essential to our more general subject.

State took Madison under its wing is a story lost to history now, unless it might be dug up from contemporary newspaper files. As a matter of fact the Ohio river towns, notably Lawrenceburgh, Madison, Jeffersonville and New Albany, were lively and jealous rivals in all that pertained to their prosperity from the interior, and they were probably rivals for the State railroad as they had been for the Michigan road some years before. Lawrenceburgh, from its nearer approach to Cincinnati and the markets of the East, and the cities at the falls of the Ohio, that much nearer the Southern markets, were more logical points than Madison for railroad connection with the interior. But Madison got the Michigan road and she got the railroad, and the most reasonable inference seems to be that in the strenuous legislative "log-rolling" of that day her representatives were the most expert. However that may be, the chief factor in Madison's future prosperity (as it proved) was thus introduced, and the timid people who lacked the faith to build their own railroad hailed with enthusiasm the paternal undertaking, as if the big State in its might could do with impunity what private enterprise could not.

The State took up the work on a broad-gauge plan, and at once. In 1836 the route was surveyed from Madison to Vernon, a distance of twenty-two miles, and ground was broken. The builders proceeded on the theory that the best was none too good, and instead of using the plain strap rail, then and for some years after in common use, a T rail was imported from England at an expense of \$80 per ton. In November, 1838, eight or nine miles of track having been completed, the road was formally "opened," the event being signalized by the presence of the Governor and other State officials, and distinguished citizens from far and near. A locomotive had been ordered of the Baldwin shops, at Philadelphia, and shipped via the gulf and rivers, but this was lost at sea, and in lieu of it a little engine named the "Elkhorn," owned by the Lexington & Ohio railroad, in Kentucky, was secured, brought from Louisville on a barge, hauled up the Michigan road hill by oxen, and put on the track at North Madison. An excursion was made over the new track and the affair wound up with a banquet and speeches. Railroad progress in the State being continuous from that day, this may be considered the real inauguration of the railroad age

in Indiana. The road was opened for traffic as far as Graham creek, about eighteen miles out, in April of 1839. At that time there were two roads in the West in operation—one from Lexington, Ky., to the Ohio river at Louisville (from which the "Elkhorn" had been secured), and another from Toledo, O., to Adrian, Mich., which was opened in 1836.* The Mad River & Lake Erie, running southward from Sandusky, O., was put in operation the same year as the M. & I.

The State built twenty-eight miles of this road at the enormous cost of \$1,624,603, or something over fifty-eight thousand dollars per mile, then, the penalty for the statesmanship of 1836 being about due, it, along with the other public works, was suspended. The railroad was leased to private firms—first Branhams & Co., then Sering & Burt—who ran it for a percentage of the earnings. Then the State took hold of its business again only to find itself burdened more than ever with a "white elephant," and following that a transfer of the road was made to a private company with the agreement that the latter should take up anew the work of construction and complete it to Indianapolis. By way of aid this company was permitted to receive land in payment for shares of stock, and to issue scrip redeemable in this land. Land to the amount of 26,795 acres was subscribed, and \$96,200 in scrip issued. The work was pushed to completion, and on October 1, 1847, the first train steamed into Indianapolis in the midst of a jubilation as enthusiastic as that at Madison, in 1838, when the little "Elkhorn" was introduced to the curious public. It should be noted that the company constructed its part of the work at something less than \$11,000 per mile as against the \$58,000 of the State's expenditures. The engineering difficulties of the southern end were much greater than those further north, but by no means such as to account for the vast discrepancy.

The proprietorship of the M. & I. was now dual, the State and the company owning respectively the portions they had built, and the earnings were divided according to mileage. The story of this copartnership is one of protected monopoly and presents an interesting phase of the subject. It is dealt with at length in Miss Cravens's chapter above referred to, and need not

*Howe's Collections of Ohio, v. II, p. 412.

be dwelt upon here. Suffice to say that under it the State gained nothing, railroad construction elsewhere was unfairly retarded, and the Madison & Indianapolis Railroad Company, within a few years, waxed fat off its advantages. The relationship lasted until 1852. Then the State sold out its interests to the company at a sacrifice, withdrew its protection, and at once proceeded to the passage of a general railroad law that opened the way to those rival lines that had been previously handicapped by the denial of fair charters. The result was fatal to the M. & I. The most formidable of those rivals, the Jeffersonville and the Lawrenceburgh roads, pushed forward their work and soon intercepted the trade of the Madison, carrying it to more advantageous points on the Ohio; simultaneously, the Bellefontaine, which had been building for three or four years, made a direct connection with the East by way of Ohio roads, and soon thereafter the Indiana Central did the same. Meanwhile the M. & I. steadily declined,* finally (in 1862) was sold out by the United States marshal, and not long after became the property of the Jeffersonville road. Since then the Madison end of the line is but a branch of the main road.

OTHER EARLY RAILROADS.

After four or five years of vicissitudes the Madison & Indianapolis railroad began to justify its existence as a business venture. Between the years 1843 and 1849, according to Chamberlin's *Indiana Gazetteer*, its annual receipts steadily increased from \$22,110 to \$235,000, and the daily travel from 25 to 200 passengers. After its completion to Indianapolis, in 1847, its real prosperity set in and until 1852 its volume of business increased phenomenally, its financial success being indicated by the fact that in the year last mentioned its stock sold for \$1.60.† This practical object lesson had its effect as a stimulus, and the "railroad fever" of the early fifties is a well-known chapter of

*The report of President E. W. H. Ellis for 1854 (see *Documentary Journal* for that year) as a piece of *naïve* literature is unique among official reports. The burden of the president's wail is that the State, in passing a law which "opened the door for the construction of other railroads," was instrumental in inflicting serious damage on the M. & I., through competition that at once sprang up. The long-protected M. & I. seemed to regard this as a breach of faith on the part of its erstwhile protector.

†Holloway's Indianapolis.

our railroad history. Pretty nearly every section of the State caught the disease and proceeded to build railroads at an astonishing rate. Prior to 1850 the only railroad in operation in Indiana was the Madison & Indianapolis. By the latter part of that year the Bellefontaine had completed 28 miles; the Jeffersonville, 16; the Knightstown & Shelbyville, 27; the Rushville & Shelbyville, 20; the New Albany & Salem, 35; and the Shelbyville branch of the M. & I., 16; making, with the original 86 miles of the M. & I., a total of 238, according to the U. S. census. Governor Wright, in his message of December 31, 1850, says: "We have 212 miles of railroad in successful operation, of which 124 were completed the past year. There are more than 1000 miles of railroad surveyed and in a state of progress. There are now," he says, "\$1,000,000 of corporate stock taken in the State, in railroads, by cities and counties, and from the present excitement in different parts of the State the amount will be largely increased the coming season."* On the maps of Indiana for 1852 and 1853 we find almost a score of roads traversing the country in all directions, most of them being then in operation. These are the Madison & Indianapolis, the Terre Haute & Indianapolis, the Lafayette & Indianapolis, the Peru & Indianapolis, the Indianapolis & Bellefontaine, the Indiana Central, the Indianapolis, Lawrenceburgh & Cincinnati, and the Jeffersonville, all directly tributary to Indianapolis. Others are the New Albany & Salem, traversing the length of the State, from New Albany to Michigan City; the Northern Indiana (Michigan Southern); the Cincinnati & Lawrenceburgh (Ohio & Mississippi), to Vernon; the Junction (C., H. & D.) from eastern State line to Rushville, and the Richmond & New Castle, from Richmond to Anderson, with continuous connections to Kokomo, Logansport and the New Albany & Salem road at a point in Stark county. Other roads and branches, the names of which are not given, are from Evansville to Vincennes, Martinsville to Franklin, Edinburg to Shelbyville and Rushville, Michigan City to Chicago, and Peru to Elkhart.†

*With a distrust born of the State's past experience, the Governor deprecates this dabbling in stocks with public funds, and maintains that railroads should be entirely private enterprises.

†Few, if any, of these roads now retain their original names.

BEGINNINGS OF A SYSTEM.

It may be noted that the combined mileage of these roads and the areas they served were much in excess of that contemplated in the famous internal improvement system which the State had hoped to establish fifteen years before. An examination of the routes shows that not only were the various sections and principal cities of the State put into communication with each other, but systems of trunk lines were beginning to be knit that reached out to remoter points and to the great markets that were so necessary to the State's prosperity. The Terre Haute, Cincinnati, Indiana Central and Bellefontaine roads, connecting with roads in other States, were or were soon to become links in continuous lines binding the Mississippi river to the Atlantic seaboard; the New Albany & Salem connected the Ohio river and the great lakes, while the Madison, Jeffersonville and Peru roads, with extensions northward soon to follow, did the same. Two other lines built a little later, one being completed in 1856 and the other in 1857, were the Pittsburgh, Ft. Wayne & Chicago and the Toledo, Wabash & Western, which were important additions to the new transportation system. The latter, having its eastern terminus at Lake Erie, threaded the Wabash valley to Williamsport, in Warren county, thence passed to the Mississippi river. In its route through this State it paralleled the Wabash & Erie canal, and demonstrated directly and strikingly the relative values of the two great methods of transportation. The railroad ruined the canal. After the year 1856 the rents and tolls from the latter fell steadily off till, from \$113,-423.47 in the last-named year the returns in 1874 were but \$7,179.61. Back of this, of course, lay the decreasing traffic by boat. Not only passenger travel but the greater part of the imports and much of the export trade was shifted to the more expeditious mode of conveyance, and only the bulkier goods, such as grain and lumber, which were the least profitable, were left to the canal boats. As this kind of tonnage was mostly exports, the boats that carried it out frequently had to return empty—a condition that was fatal to profits and the life of the canal trade. In a word, the canal, as opposed to the railroad, was a failure, and was passing into desuetude.

INFLUENCES OF THE RAILROAD.

The influence of the railroad throughout the State was marked, not to say phenomenal. A striking illustration of it was afforded by the rise and decline of Madison. Between 1840 and 1850 the population of this city increased from 3798 to 7000. In the early fifties, in point of commerce, wealth, culture and general status, she was easily the leading city of Indiana, and the chief factor in creating such preeminence was the old Madison railroad draining down to that point, as it did for a dozen years, all the trade of the interior. For one thing, it became a pork market, second only to Cincinnati, the "Porkopolis" of the West. Practically all the travel into the interior from the East and South was by way of Madison and her railway, and she became known as the "gateway to the State." The decline of her road after 1852, by the deflection of trade to other roads, marks the beginning of her decline, and, outstripped as she has been by other towns of the State, she now stands in history as an object lesson, proving how the railroads can make and unmake cities. Richmond, between 1850 and 1860, gained over 5000 in population, advancing, meanwhile, to a manufacturing city of quite respectable proportions. A like stimulus can be traced in Ft. Wayne, Lafayette, Terre Haute and other towns that were on important lines. Not the least notable of the many effects was the rearrangement, so to speak, of the centers of population. Under the old order, navigable waters, good mill seats and topographical considerations were important factors in determining settlements, but now the centers that sprang up were strung along the new overland routes of travel and many of the river towns that had aspired to ascendancy were left to dwindle in isolation. As, in the first instance, the leading towns already in existence determined the location of the railroad routes, so to a greater degree did these routes determine the location and multiply the number of the smaller towns. The early roads, when surveyed, passed through comparatively few towns other than county seats, yet Governor Ray's dream of a town or village every five miles has long since been practically fulfilled. Along with the growth of urban populations and transportation advantages went an industrial development, and from a purely agri-

cultural State Indiana began to make a showing in the manufactures,* and her natural resources, many of which had lain in primeval uselessness because of the transportation difficulties, now began to engage the attention of capitalists. Real estate took on new values. The advantages to the State generally were set forth by the president of the M. & I. road at the time Indiana was trying to get out of the entanglement with her railroad. Even if she had paid enormously for her road and had sold out for a pittance, it was plausibly argued, the vast enhancement in property values and the corresponding returns from taxation, due directly to this railroad, far outweighed the seeming loss.† This was doubtless true, and it indicates, in part, the immeasurable effect upon the commonwealth of the railroads collectively.

THE RAILROADS AND INDIANAPOLIS.

But the most notable, perhaps, of the stimulating effects of the railroads within the State was the part they played in the development of Indianapolis. From the first charters of the early thirties, as has been shown, the capital, located as it was, was recognized as a logical railroad center, and among those

*A reference to statistics shows the effect of the railroads upon manufactures. The *Indiana Gazetteer* for 1850 gives the manufactured products of the year as aggregating in value \$19,199,681, while these values for the next ten years, according to the census of 1860, averaged \$41,840,434, with a total of 20,755 hands employed in manufacturing industries. Taken by counties, those that show the heavy investments are, almost without exception, those that have the railroad advantages. Jefferson and Wayne lead all the others, the former with \$1,117,699 of invested capital.

The important relation of the railroad to commercial prosperity is illustrated by what was known as the "Erie war," which occurred in 1853. At that time the railroads had not established a uniform gauge (width between the rails), and a break of gauge at Erie, Pa., which was in the line of travel between the East and the West, necessitated not only a transfer of all through passengers at that point, but of all freight traffic as well. The profit in this to the town of Erie and the corresponding inconvenience and expense to travelers and shippers resulted in serious friction. Erie seemed to think that her transferring industry was a vested right, and that the rest of the world could go hang, and when an attempt was made to unify the gauge her citizens forcibly interfered with the laying of rails in the streets. The wrath in the West at Erie's hoggishness and the execrations heaped upon the town by the press and in indignation meetings were loud and universal. The *Indianapolis Journal* for December 17, 24, 25 and 28, 1853, gives glimpses of the public feeling.

‡In justly estimating what seems the State's signal failure at railroad building, the above results should be considered, and also the fact that, but for its taking up the task, railroad construction in the State would probably have been delayed several years. The lack of public confidence and the difficulties of capitalizing were amply proved in the thirties. An actual experiment—an object lesson—was needed to establish faith. This the State supplied, and the result was the impulse of the fifties.

built in the early fifties not less than eight focussed there. In the history of the place a distinct period begins with 1847, when the M. & I. road established a connection with the Ohio river. From that date it proceeded to evolve from the status of an ordinary country town to that of a city with multiplied and growing activities. The particulars of this transition was graphically set forth by the author of "Holloway's Indianapolis." The business of the town, he says, was purely local. "It produced little and it distributed little. A small amount of 'jobbing' was done in an irregular way among the small dealers and manufacturers of the neighboring towns, but it was neither large enough or certain enough to be considered a branch of trade. The manufacturing, except for home demand, was even more trifling than the mercantile business. Occasional attempts had been made at iron, wool, oil, tobacco, hemp, and even ginseng manufacture, but none of them amounted to much or lasted long." With the opening of the Madison road, "there was a change of features, of form, a suggestion of manhood, a trace of the beard and voice of virility. Manufactures appeared; 'stores' that had formerly mixed up dry goods, groceries, grain, hardware, earthenware and even books in their stock, began to select and confine themselves to one or two classes of their former assortment. * * * Business showed its growth in its divisions; the price of property advanced; a city form of government was adopted; a school system was inaugurated. Everybody felt the impulse, without exactly feeling its direction, of prosperity. * * * New hotels, manufactories and business houses also appeared. The Bates House and Sherman House were built; Osgood & Smith's peg and last factory, Geisendorff's woollen mill, Drew's carriage establishment, Shellenbarger's planing-mill and Macy's pork-house swelled our industries, and various blocks, schoolhouses, railroad shops and other buildings were added to our improvements." A glance at the local press of the fifties confirms this description of prosperity and bustle. Three-fourths of the space, seemingly, was taken up by advertisements; the columns were dotted with little cuts of engines and cars, with accompanying time-tables; pictures of trains were incorporated in the newspaper heads, and a

semi-literary weekly, the first of its kind in the city, saw fit to take the name *The Locomotive*.

This sudden quickening proved to be no passing phase, for before two decades of the railroad era had passed Indianapolis, the railroad center, had become the chief city of the State, "hopelessly ahead of all rivalry, the seat of the most numerous, varied and productive manufactories, and the distributing center of a trade probably unequaled by any city in the Union of the same population." The continuation of this process of growth, the establishment of a still wider circle of connections and the addition of the interurban transportation system with the wonderful changes it is now effecting is a matter of common knowledge which passes chronologically beyond the scope of this study.

THE UNION DEPOT.

With the first centering of railroads at Indianapolis the desirability of a plan whereby, for the convenience of through passenger traffic, these roads could be made continuous in their connections, presented itself, and an account of the inception and development of this plan, which seems to have been original with the parties mentioned, is thus given by Mr. W. N. Jackson in the *Indianapolis Journal* for July 29, 1900:

"Chauncy Rose, of the Terre Haute & Richmond; John Brough, of the Madison & Indianapolis, and Oliver H. Smith, of the Bellefontaine line, met in their office in the middle of the Circle in 1850, and planned and carried into execution soon after, a Union Station at Indianapolis, and erected the first one that was ever built. For this a union track was needed from the middle of Tennessee street northeasterly to the middle of Washington street at Noble street, and the right of way for which was taken by the Terre Haute & Richmond to Pennsylvania street, and from there onward northeasterly to the center of Washington street by the Bellefontaine and Peru roads. A few miles of each road had been made previous to this. The right of way from the Madison & Indianapolis depot on South street to Meridian street was given by Austin W. Morris. The right of way from Pennsylvania street to New Jersey street was purchased from Mrs. McCarty. The Union Station was opened Septem-

ber 20, 1853, the building being finished at that period. Mr. Chauncy Rose was president of the company and Mr. W. N. Jackson, secretary, treasurer and ticket agent.

"The Lawrenceburgh & Upper Mississippi railroad entered this station in the spring of 1854 as the Indianapolis & Cincinnati Railroad Company; the Indiana Central at the same time and the Lafayette a little later, followed by the Indianapolis & Vincennes, the Indianapolis, Bloomington & Western, the Indianapolis, Decatur & Springfield, the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Indianapolis, and the Monon branch of the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago roads."

The Union Company owned all the tracks in the city and the Union Depot independently of the various roads as such. The old building, which was planned by General T. A. Morris, was originally 420 feet long by 120 wide, but afterward (in 1866) was made 200 feet wide. It was replaced by the present building in 1887-'08.

THE BELT RAILROAD.

The centering of twelve or thirteen railroads at Indianapolis caused, by the seventh decade, a congestion of traffic at that point that embarrassed the city and called for a remedy. The remedy developed in the shape of a separate road located beyond the outskirts of the city and that encircled it sufficiently to connect with all the lines that entered, and by this "Belt Road," as it was called, freight was and is transferred from one road to another without entering the city. The idea is said to have been a new one and the Indianapolis Belt Road the first one of the kind ever built. The real originator and earliest promoter of the plan has received very little credit for the part he played as the "first cause" of this important work. The written history of it begins with the organization of the company in 1873, but at least three years before that time the scheme was fermenting in the mind of Joel F. Richardson, a practical railroad man, who for more than fifteen years had been identified with construction in Indiana. This is revealed by diaries and other documents left by Mr. Richardson, and now in possession of his daughters in Irvington, Indianapolis. One statement of Mr. Richardson's as written down by his daughter at the time it was made is as follows:

"Coming up from Cincinnati one day in 1870, there was a car off the track at Walter's mill. While waiting there I had a talk with John H. Lozier about the Fletcher property in Indianapolis, he being one of the trustees. He said that as the property was in the south part of the city it would not amount to much on account of having to cross the railroads to get to or from it. I took from my pocket my drawing of the Circle Railroad and explained its necessity and my idea about it. Mr. Lozier was favorably impressed with it, and I asked him to write a piece about it for the paper to place it before the public."

Reverting back to that period the Misses Richardson remember as children this, to them, mysterious drawing of the "Circle" road and the explanations of the same as made by their father. Mr. Lozier, the daughters think, published an article in one of the Indianapolis papers about 1871 or 1872. The matter then seems to have rested until 1873, when it was taken up anew and briskly pushed. In one of the diaries above referred to the first entry is:

"*Friday, Jan. 10, 1873.* Stayed at the Mason House over night. Called on Col. Farquhar and showed him my plan for a railroad around the city."

On subsequent dates, as shown by the diary, he was busy presenting his plan to other capitalists and railroad men, from one of whom, Dillard Ricketts, he received especial encouragement. Ricketts told him to "go on and work the matter up and he would furnish money for the enterprise." Other entries show that in February he walked over the ground bordering the city, prospecting for a route. By August a company was formed and incorporated, and from that date Richardson's dream began to materialize.

The following sketch of the road was written by Charles Test Dalton as a contribution to the "Indiana Centennial Association" which celebrated July 4, 1900, by a historical meeting at the State House.* It was published in the *Indianapolis Journal*

*This "Centennial Association," which has been mentioned before in this magazine, never held any meetings other than the one here referred to. A number of valuable historical papers were prepared for the occasion by competent persons. These were local in their character, and most or all of them were subsequently published in the *Journal*. The meeting was under the auspices of the Indiana Historical Society, but its chief if not sole promoter was Gen. John Coburn, who urgently solicited the preparation of the papers.

for August 26, 1900. Mr. Dalton took the pains carefully to interview men who had been intimately connected with the Belt Railroad enterprise, and his sketch is the fullest and most reliable of which we have knowledge:

"A corporation was formed in August, 1873, of which Henry C. Lord was president, to construct a Belt road and stockyards on the present lines. On September 10, 1873, the McCarty heirs conveyed to this corporation a strip of ground one hundred feet in width, running from the Vandalia Railroad through to the river on the present line, containing more than twenty acres, as shown in deed recorded in Land Record 20, page 294, according to the conditions therein named. Articles of association incorporating the Indianapolis Belt Railway Company were filed April 9, 1873, in the office of the Secretary of State, to construct a railroad connecting the different railroads leading into the city. The then over-crowded tracks of the Union Railroad Company, over which all freight, as well as passenger cars, were brought to the city, suggested the importance of the same. The directors for the first year named therein were Addison L. Roach, Thomas D. Kingan, John H. Farquhar, Elijah B. Martindale, Joel F. Richardson, Milton M. Landis, Henry C. Lord, John Thomas and William Coughlen. H. C. Lord was elected president of the company and Joel F. Richardson, superintendent. The latter, it was said, was the first to suggest building the railroad.

"Early in September Mr. Henry C. Lord, as president of the company, proposed to Nicholas McCarty that if he and the other McCarty heirs, owners of the real estate lying between Oliver avenue and the Vincennes railroad and that between the Vincennes railroad and the river, would give the right of way through all such real estate, McCarty might select one of the three routes named by Mr. Lord on which the right of way should be located. Negotiations relative to the matter resulted in the conveyance by deed September 10, 1873, to this company of a strip of ground one hundred feet in width, running through all the said real estate on the present line of the Belt Railroad proper, containing about twenty acres, and being 8,800 feet long, as shown in deed recorded in Land Record 20, page 294, according to the conditions named therein. The company proceeded

to make the roadbed through the strip, first working on it between the Vincennes railroad and Oliver avenue. Soon afterward the panic came, all work was discontinued and was not resumed until some time thereafter, when money, it was said, was furnished by Mr. Thomas D. Kingan, and the company continued the work on the roadbed east of the Vincennes railroad. Some little time thereafter all operations were again discontinued, and, the company failing to meet the conditions of the deed, the whole strip reverted to the grantors, a decree in the Marion Superior Court, cause No. 14676, against the Indianapolis Belt Railway Company, Thomas D. Kingan and others, quieted the title in the McCarty heirs. This strip of ground is all the company ever secured for a right of way. Nothing further as to work on the embankment or any of the right of way was ever done under the direction of the Indianapolis Belt Railway Company.

"At that time Indianapolis was a city of barely over 50,000 people, a prosperous overgrown country town, of conservative people and plain dwellings, separated in a measure from the bustle of the outside world and caring nothing whether this or that city outgrew it; consequently there was little waste of nervous energy, no booms and few local strikes. This feeling of security had built up a residence city and one of solid wealth, and the fact that homes were built here by hard labor instilled in all classes a feeling of proprietorship. And this is why the great financial panic of 1873 did not reach Indianapolis until several years later, but the inevitable day dawned at last. It was a serious hour, and had to be handled in a firm manner and by a strong hand. The man arose to the occasion; he successfully averted a labor war and incidentally gave to this city a gift the value of which he could hardly hope would prove the greatest industry of this city. But the test of twenty-three years has proved his judgment. The enterprise was the Indianapolis Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, and the man who thought out this project was the Hon. John Caven. He was mayor of the city, and endeavored to devise some plan whereby he might give labor to the unemployed and at the same time build something which would not merely be an ornament to the city, but which would bring in revenue to repay itself and

in the future increase in value. This would be accomplished in building a great belt road around the city in connection with the various railroads entering from all directions and connecting it with a large stockyard from which immense shipments could be received and sent to other parts of the country. This plan, therefore, furnished labor to the unemployed, brought a great cattle market to Indianapolis and a large amount of taxable property; and all of this was not the act of a speculator or a promoter, but of a man who cared for his city and his people so much that he would accept no stock in the concern when he could have done so justly and have acquired a fortune.

"When the details of the enterprise had been thoroughly gone over Mayor Caven drew up the Belt road message and read it before the Council on July 17, 1876. It was published in the papers, where it caused considerable comment. Articles of association of the Union Railroad and Stockyards Company, dated August 29, 1876, were filed in the Secretary of State's office. The directors for the first year named therein were J. C. Ferguson, John Thomas, W. C. Holmes, W. N. Jackson, E. F. Claypool, John F. Miller, M. A. Downing, Horace Scott and W. R. McKeen. The purpose of the same, as stated in these articles, was to 'provide convenient methods for the transportation and transfer of freight and stock cars through, into and around the city of Indianapolis, and to effect the speedy, economical exchange of cars between all the railroads entering therein, or passing through; and for the erection and maintenance of ample stockyards for the accommodation of all the live stock that may be brought into or pass through said city.' An ordinance contract was passed by the Council of Indianapolis on the petition of a majority of the citizens of Indianapolis, to be found in the volume of Indianapolis city ordinances, published in 1895, sections 1315 to 1324, both inclusive. The city of Indianapolis agreed to lend its credit to the company to the extent of \$500,000 in its bonds. After the passage of this ordinance, attorneys gave their opinion that bonds issued under the same would be invalid unless validated by an act of the Legislature, which act was passed by the Legislature, approved March 2, 1877. (See acts of 1877, page 116.) Many of our best citizens opposed the city lending its credit to the road, but a majority favored it.

The petition, signed by a majority of the citizens, was secured only after a faithful and energetic canvassing for two or three weeks of the whole city by committees from the various wards, and the validating act of the Legislature was secured after quite a struggle before the members and committees of the Legislature, by those in favor and those against the project. But it was finally passed by a large majority of both houses. Mr. Justus C. Adams, with other legislators from our county, was active in the support of the project, and perhaps more credit is due Mr. Adams than any one person in the Legislature that year for having secured the passage of the act.

"Under the ordinance contract the agreement between the Union Railroad Transfer and Stockyards Company and the city of Indianapolis (recorded in the recorder's office October 20, 1877, in Mortgage Record 305, page 514), the city agreed to lend its credit in the way of issuing the city bonds to the amount of \$500,000. The Council passed the ordinance October 16, 1876, for the issuance of the city bonds, payable in twenty years, to be dated January 1, 1877, the Belt Railroad bonds to be given to the city to secure it against the payment of the bonds so issued by the city, dated December 1, 1876. The exchange of these bonds was to be made in accordance with said agreement. The mortgage securing the bonds so executed by the railroad company to the city was recorded in Mortgage Record 97, page 34. The Belt Railroad Company having paid off the bonds so issued by the city, the mortgage executed by the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company to the city was released July 22, 1898. By a warranty deed of June 5, 1877, the McCarty heirs conveyed to the Union Railroad, Transfer and Stockyards Company a strip of ground 100 feet in width, running through their land from a point near the Vandalia Railroad to White river, and about 105 acres for the site of the stockyards. The track was very soon laid, and the buildings of the stockyards erected and inclosed, and business began at once. Afterward the name of the Union Railway and Stockyards Company was changed to that of the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, and on the 17th day of October the Belt Railroad proper was leased from the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company by the Indianapolis Union Railway Company for a term of 999 years, beginning on the 1st day of May, 1884.

"August 10, 1895, the McCarty heirs sold and conveyed to James Cuning 29½ acres adjoining the old stockyards by deed recorded in Land Record 30, page 17. Afterward, by successive conveyances, this same land was conveyed to the Farmers' and Drovers' Stockyard Company, a corporation organized under the laws of Indiana. This corporation was formed in opposition, it was supposed, to the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, and, after proceeding to make some little improvements, it and Kingan & Co., who were supposed to be at the back of it, effected a settlement with the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, and conveyed to it the above 29½ acres October 16, 1895, (recorded in Land Record 30, page 109). So the two companies were consolidated, and by the settlement Kingan & Co. leased the porkhouse belonging to the old company and made a contract with the old company to continue to do their business with it, where they (Kingan & Co.) have contributed so largely to its success. This 29½ acres, so conveyed, added to the 105 acres, and the 20-acre strip of land above mentioned, make 154½ acres altogether which the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company now owns. In the organization of the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, W. Riley McKeen, Horace Scott, E. F. Claypool, W. C. Holmes, M. A. Downing and others were prominent, and after the organization of the same, W. R. McKeen, Horace Scott, M. A. Downing and E. F. Claypool were the active managers of the company. Mr. Claypool, as secretary and treasurer of the company, managed the financial operations of the company with great skill, and perhaps no one is more entitled to credit for carrying the company through and placing it upon a solid foundation than he.

"The struggle of the company began with the city credit of \$500,000. A petition was signed by a majority of all the citizens requesting that the loan be made, and even then the ordinance was duly passed by the Council by a bare majority of one. This shows how strong was the opposition against the measure. And, after this it was declared that the bonds issued by the Council were invalid, and that it was necessary to procure an act of Legislature to secure their validity; which was done by an act approved March 2, 1877 (acts of 1877, p. 116). Despite the opposition the measure passed both houses of the Legisla-

ture by a large majority. The greatest difficulties seemed to have been surmounted, and the work of construction was begun. The company continued the work until June 1, when it was interrupted, at a most inopportune time, in the midst of serious labor troubles and when work was almost impossible to be found; and when men were depressed and desperate. It seems that certain land-owners were not satisfied with the amount of money awarded them for the right of way, and a contest in court ensued. This threw many men out of employment, and a decision of the courts would probably delay the work for months. In the meantime people might starve and serious trouble result. Then it was that Mayor Caven worked night and day. Trouble had been brewing for a long time, and it culminated on the evening of June 6, 1877, when a large meeting of the unemployed was called at the Statehouse grounds. In the afternoon a compromise was effected by the mayor, and he gained permission to continue the work irrespective of the pending lawsuit. As soon as this point had been gained he sought Mr. Claypool, who was secretary of the company at the time; Mr. Reed, the engineer, and Mr. Richardson, who had charge of the men. They agreed to go on with the work in the morning if they were furnished with sufficient men, and Mr. Caven promised to meet this deficiency. When the labor meeting gathered that evening there were nearly five hundred desperate men assembled, needing but the tongue of an anarchist to drive them to any act of folly. It was a critical period, more serious than the citizens imagined. The township trustee could give no more aid, and municipal funds were at a low ebb. In the stormy speeches which followed the crowd was urged to commit bloodshed, if necessary, for they must have food. Finally, they decided to march to the Governor the next morning and make a last appeal; if this was useless they would loot the stores. In the midst of the scene Mayor Caven entered the room alone. It was an act of bravery, and with difficulty could he gain a hearing. When the uproar had ceased he told the people they could go to work tomorrow morning, and requested order and obedience. It was a scene to be remembered, this sudden transition from hopelessness to surety. Men laughed and cried, they shouted and sang, and it was a glorious moment to the man who stood among

them, alone, the man who had been true to his office and had saved the people. Then the mayor said no one should go to bed hungry that night, and asked the people to follow him and he would look after them. Out in the darkness and down the street the crowd followed their leader. Several bakeries were visited and each man was given several loaves of bread. Then they disappeared silently down the street and everything was quiet. It was the passing of a crisis.

"This is the story of the formation of the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company and it is evident that Mayor Caven is the man who deserves very great credit for this work, which is an honor to himself and to the city. As to the results which arose from this undertaking, there is only one word which seems to fit the purpose—stupendous. Nothing has paid so well or been of so great value as a single enterprise. Starting with a stock of 30 cents on a dollar, each year saw a rise in the percentage. In 1879 and 1880 the cash dividends were 10 per cent. on the face of the stock and in 1881 stock sold for \$1.50. One of the earliest stockholders paid \$15,000 for \$50,000 stock and by 1899 had received \$10,000 in dividends; two years later he sold his stock for \$75,000 cash." * * *

BRIEF SKETCHES AND NOTES.

From various sources, among them a series of sketches of the Indianapolis railroads written by Mr. John H. Holliday and published in the *Indianapolis Sentinel* in 1869 (see dates May 22, July 24, August 2, August 5 and August 25), we gather these additional items of information:

The Indianapolis and Lawrenceburgh.—This road (afterward known as the I., C. & L.), as has been stated, antedated in its actual beginnings every other Indiana road, but it was not completed to Indianapolis until 1853. Its difficulties and the character and effects of the opposition to it on the part of the M. & I. road would make an interesting chapter of our early railroad history, but the data for it seem to be lost now. We find just enough evidence to show that there was much illegitimate opposition, which was made effective by the aid of the State. By the Lawrenceburgh newspaper files of 1835 we find that the L. & I. Company, that had secured the charter for the road in 1832,*

*Holloway's Indianapolis gives the date of the first railroad charters as February, 1831. A reference to the statutes would have shown the writer that it was 1832.

was still alive and active. On July 23 of that year ground was broken at Lawrenceburgh with the accompaniment of a barbecue and public demonstration (see *Palladium* for July 25). There were letters from Henry Clay, O. H. Smith and others, and many toasts. Major J. P. Dunn was prominent in the festivities. It is worthy of note that the *Rising Sun Times* of contemporary date and correspondents to its columns were hostile to the whole scheme of the road, their animosity, seemingly, arising from the idea that the State was going to subsidize it at the expense of other sections. Its final completion, affording a connection with Cincinnati, was a most important commercial benefit, and no other road, perhaps, conduced more to the decadence of the Madison route. The *Indianapolis Journal* for December 19, 1853, says: "The freighting business on this new route is exceeding the most sanguine predictions of its projectors. The receipts for freight alone have been more than one thousand dollars per day for some time past. One day this week ninety-five cars arrived at Lawrenceburgh full of freight. More cars are being built and every care taken to push forward freight without delay." The receipts of the road the first year were \$299,433.66, and the second year this was nearly doubled. In the tables of tonnage we find corn, wheat, oats, rye and barley, iron, coal, lumber, staves, hoopoles, stone, stock, flour, whisky, salt and pork.

The Jeffersonville Road.—If the Lawrenceburgh road swallowed up a large part of the business previously enjoyed by the M. & I., the Jeffersonville line took another part and did still worse, for it finally swallowed up the M. & I. itself. Before it accomplished that anaconda feat, however, it had to wage a long and determined fight. Its original charter, wherein it was designated as the Ohio & Indiana Railroad Company, dates back to 1832. In common with the other roads then chartered, this project lay dormant for a long time. In 1837 it was saved from total extinction by a renewal of its charter with certain amendments, and again in 1846 by another renewal. This last charter authorized a capital of \$1,000,000, divided into shares of \$100 each, \$100,000 of which must be subscribed before the company could be organized. The time limit was thirteen months. Nothing was consummated. In 1848 the projectors again got together

and secured a more liberal charter, extending the time limit to five years and giving authority to extend the line not merely to Columbus, as had been previously granted, but to any other point in the State that might be desired—which was a very important concession, as Indianapolis was the desired terminus. At this period the potential energy that had kept the thing breathing through these years showed signs of real life. The \$100,000 was raised, the company organized, with William C. Armstrong, of Jeffersonville, as president, and in October of 1848 twenty-two miles of the road was put under contract.* By August of 1852 the fifty-two miles between Jeffersonville and Rockford was completed and put in operation, and soon after it reached Columbus, where it met the M. & I., and the real conflict between the two roads began. Mr. John W. Ray, in a contribution to the Indiana Centennial Association, thus speaks of the relations between them at this point:

“John Brough was the president of the Madison & Indianapolis railroad. He was brainy and strong-willed, and equally so was Armstrong. When the Jeffersonville road was nearing Columbus, Armstrong was anxious to form connection with the other road, and arranged the time-tables to this end. Brough changed his, and when the Jeffersonville train hove in sight it was only to see the other departing.”

The sequel was that Armstrong simply headed for Indianapolis, building his road parallel with the M. & I., and only a few yards away. By the time he reached Edinburg the M. & I., presumably, concluded that a control of the rest of the route was better than a division of the same. At any rate a compromise was effected by the laying of a switch between the two tracks and the Jeffersonville traffic passed over it. By this time the M. & I. had passed its heyday, its stock was depreciating, and the astute rival road was quietly buying up the same. To quote Mr. Ray again: “When the next election of the board of directors was held, the Jeffersonville Railroad Company elected a majority of the board, and the Madison & Indianapolis railroad was shortly after consolidated into the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis Railroad Company, and William G. Armstrong became president thereof.” This consolidation took place in

*In 1849 the name was changed to the Jeffersonville Railroad Company.

1866. The J., M. & I. was a particularly important road during the Civil War, it being the route for conveyance of troops and supplies to the South. During that period its carrying capacity was taxed to the utmost.

The Bellefontaine & Indianapolis.—This road, afterward known as the C., C., C. & I., and now as the Big Four, was among the most important of the early lines, particularly as it was the first to give Indianapolis an outlet to the East and to deflect trade in that direction. Says Mr. Holliday, in the *Sentinel* articles we have cited: "It is impossible to estimate the advantage this road has been to Indianapolis. For several years a great deal of the stock of the Bellefontaine company was owned here, and the road was run directly in the interest of the city. * * * But the great benefit conferred by the road has been in the large amount of travel and business brought through here, and which has, in one way and another, done much to build up the city." Its chief projector was Oliver H. Smith, who was its first president. Begun in 1848, it was by 1850 in operation as far as Pendleton, and was the second road running out of Indianapolis. Two years later it reached Union City, there making connection with an Ohio road and with points eastward. Prior to that it was a feeder to the Madison road, but afterward a formidable commercial rival.

The Peru & Indianapolis.—This road, the third that reached out from Indianapolis, was running to Noblesville by the spring of 1851 and reached Peru in 1854. Of it Mr. Holliday says: "Traversing, at first, a stretch of wilderness, and though a poorly constructed road with a history of repeated reverses, it yet helped materially to build up the country through which it ran. In its earlier days it brought into Indianapolis immense quantities of lumber, and, at a later day, much grain and produce." The Madison road, in its various attempts at self-preservation, effected a consolidation with the Peru soon after the completion of the latter, on the theory that a through route from the Ohio river to the Wabash & Erie canal, and thence by water to Lake Erie and the East would put it on a footing with its victorious rivals; but the merger did not work smoothly, and dissolved before long.

The Terre Haute & Indianapolis.—The Terre Haute & Richmond, as it was originally called, the next Indianapolis road to go into operation, was intended, as the name implies, to cross the State and connect the two cities mentioned. The original idea, as said on a previous page, was to establish a link in a through route that should, without break, reach from St. Louis to Cincinnati. On May 12, 1847, a railroad convention was held at Indianapolis attended by delegates from various counties in this State and from Ohio and Illinois, the object being to stir up this scheme for a trunk line. In addition to the consideration of the road from Terre Haute to Richmond, steps were taken to urge action on the part of Ohio, and a committee was appointed to memorialize the Illinois legislature for the passage of an act granting right of way through that State. One fatal obstacle to the consummation of the plan at this time, it is claimed, was the indifference and lack of support over the route between Indianapolis and Richmond. At any rate, the actual project, so far as Indiana was concerned, settled down to the Terre Haute & Indianapolis road, a brief sketch of which has been furnished us by Mr. W. H. Ragan, now of Washington City. Says Mr. Ragan:

“The people of Terre Haute, headed by the late Chauncy Rose, desiring to be put in easier communication with the State capital, agitated the question of a railroad to Indianapolis, and a company was formed, with Chauncy Rose as its president, to construct this road. With this beginning, some Indianapolis men were approached, including the late E. J. Peck. The latter became deeply interested in the undertaking, and soon after was elected president of the company, which position he held for a number of years. These preliminaries occupied several years. The first officers of the company, as I recall them, were: President, Chauncy Rose; vice-president, E. J. Peck; chief engineer, Thomas A. Morris. The country lying between Terre Haute and Indianapolis was an almost unbroken wilderness, the settlements were separated by extensive and gloomy forests, and only a few villages were scattered along the line of the National Road. The railroad left this latter highway at Plainfield, from which point to Greencastle but a few settlements were to be found, and beyond that place for a number of miles conditions were even worse. The locating of the road was a slow and tedious process,

several surveys being made before the present line was finally established.

"Vice-President Peck, always faithful, never abandoned the corps of engineers. He accompanied them through their task, and when it was completed no one understood better than he just what obstacles were yet to be encountered and overcome. He had made the acquaintance of many residents along the line, fully understood each one's attitude toward the undertaking and knew whether he would grant the right of way through his possessions or obstruct to the bitter end, as many did, the building of the road. In this way he prepared himself for the troubles and litigation to follow. Then railroads could not make terms with property owners, as they can now, for right of way by condemnation proceedings. Concessions must be through compromise or by litigation. The latter was often resorted to and not infrequently an obstreperous land-owner forced the engineer, in order to avoid further difficulties, to deviate from his chosen line, by making a detour around the contested premises. In this way a road that should have been built as an air line, at least from Indianapolis to Greencastle, now has many annoying and dangerous curves in it. It was but natural for at least some of the farmers of that day to doubt the sincerity of the company in carrying out its undertaking. Some seemed to think the project too stupendous ever to be accomplished; others that the resources of the country were too limited to support such an undertaking."

The Terre Haute & Indianapolis was opened for through business in February of 1852. Its receipts for the first year were \$105,943.87, and within sixteen years its business multiplied ten times, its agricultural tonnage being swelled by an increasing carriage of coal. It is said to have been the first railroad in the State to issue bonds.

The Indiana Central.—The "Panhandle," as this road was subsequently called, now the P., C., C. & St. L., was the fulfilment of the old Terre Haute & Richmond idea, and followed it in such short time after the failure of the first company to push it through that the charge of indifference on the part of residents along the route could hardly have been true. It was begun in 1851 and completed in 1853, being the second to establish

(through Cincinnati) a connection with the East. It traversed one of the best sections of the State and was no small factor in developing that section, as well as Indianapolis.

Other Roads.—The Lafayette road, finished in 1852, was of especial service to Indianapolis as a connecting link between the Ohio river and Chicago. It was consolidated with the Cincinnati road in 1866. The "Junction" road, or C., H. & D., though begun in 1850, did not connect with Indianapolis till the latter sixties. The Vincennes road reached here about the same time, after a nominal existence of many years. This concludes the group of Indianapolis roads up to that date.

Names and Nicknames of Railroads.—Forty to sixty years ago there was something of a tendency to saddle railroads with sounding names that were grandiose, often, in proportion to the insignificance of the road. A writer in the *Indianapolis Press* for July 30, 1900, gives some of these samples of imposing verbiage. Some of the roads never existed except on paper. Such was the "Atlantic & Great Western," which was to run "all the way from Vincennes to Indianapolis," and the "American Central," which had a terminus in Ft. Wayne, and then, according to its articles of association, "wandered through the woods across the State and lost itself some place on the prairies of Illinois." The "Brazil, Bowling Green & Bloomfield, Northern & Southern Central Railway" was to be forty-six miles long, and the "Auburn & Eel River Valley" was to be twenty-four miles. A reversion to this verbal bolstering may be traced in the present "Chicago & Southeastern," which "does not go near Chicago and runs southwest." It was formerly known as the "Midland," and was famous among all the "jerk-water" roads of the State for its equipment and its ridiculous attempts to be a sure-enough railroad. In more recent times there has been a quite contrary tendency to brief nicknames, having usually some appropriate significance, and we have the "Big Four" (from the four big cities connected, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis), the "Panhandle," the "Air Line," the "Clover Leaf," the "Nickel Plate," etc. The "Bee Line" of a generation ago, at first the Bellefontaine, was perhaps the first instance of this

kind of nomenclature. As an instance of facetious nicknaming, it is said that the Cambridge City branch of the J., M. & I., was once called the "Calico Road," because the workmen on it were paid in dry goods.

Early Railroad Equipment.—The first railroads in Indiana (except the first twenty-eight miles of the M. & I., which had imported "T" rails) were laid with "strap rails," which were simply bars of iron, about two and a half inches wide by five-eighths thick. These were spiked down to the wooden rails, as they were sometimes called, or continuous lines of oak stringers perhaps six inches square. Being secured near the inner edge of the stringers and the corner of the timber being chamfered off, the flanges of the wheels could not groove the wood. The stringers rested on cross-ties three or four feet apart, to which they were secured by strong wooden pins driven through auger-holes, and the ties, in turn, were supported by heavy timbers, or "mud-sills" which, laid end to end and bedded in the earth, afforded a foundation for the whole structure.* Other forms of construction were employed in some parts of the country, but, so far as we have been able to learn, the mode described was the only one in Indiana prior to the changes that came with improvements. The rolling stock was equally primitive. A locomotive, having at first neither cow-catcher nor cab,† weighed perhaps from ten to thirteen tons, as against the seventy-five or one hundred tons of to-day, and was capable of hauling twelve or fifteen cars holding three tons each. Twenty miles an hour for passenger trains was a high rate of speed. There is record, in 1840, of an engine drawing 221 tons forty miles in three hours and forty-one minutes. The development of the locomotive was retarded by the frail character of the tracks, as their weight crushed the yielding flat bar into the wood and loosened the spikes. The strain, moreover, very frequently caused the loosened rails to curl upward at the ends, threatening punctures and derailment, and these "snake-heads," as they were called, had to be constantly guarded against. A

*Query: Did the general use of "mud-sills" in railroad construction give rise to the colloquial term as applied to the man who belongs to the sub-stratum of society?

†The innovation of a protecting cab was at first objected to by the enginemen, as a dangerous trap in case of accident.

not uncommon occurrence was the stopping of trains till the trainmen went ahead with a sledge-hammer to spike down rails. There were other causes of delay not down on the schedules, among them being the stoppage at some wayside stream or pool to replenish the water supply by dipping up with leathern buckets that were carried on hooks at the side of the tender. It is a plausible guess that from this job of the trainmen originated the humoristic appellation of "jerk-water," so commonly applied to cheap and out-of-date roads. It may be added that locomotives were once universally named as steamboats are to-day, the "General Morris," "Reuben Wells," "Dillard Rickets," etc., but illustrating the old custom of doing honor to men of note in the railroad world.

Railroad Mileage.—The railroad mileage in Indiana at various periods, according to the census reports of 1890, was: 1860, 2,163; 1870, 3,177; 1880, 4,373; 1886, 5,711.96; 1887, 5,798.94; 1888, 5,890.26; 1889, 6,003.76; 1890, 6,090.66. The census abstract for 1900 gives no statistics of steam railways.

In closing this we may add the following from a work on railways (Tuck's) issued in 1847: "In 1824 the first locomotive traveled at the rate of six miles per hour; in 1829 the 'Rocket' traveled at the rate of fifteen miles per hour; in 1834 the 'Fire-fly' attained the speed of twenty miles per hour; in 1839 the 'North Star' moved with a velocity of thirty-seven miles per hour, and at the present moment locomotives have attained the speed of seventy miles per hour." We have elsewhere seen it recorded that as early as 1850 trains had attained a speed of sixty miles an hour—a somewhat astonishing fact considering the crude form of the locomotive at that period. We have nowhere seen any statement as to such speed on Indiana roads, and, as said above, twenty miles per hour seems to have been regarded as a high rate of speed.

Errata and Omissions.—The date of the first work on the L. & I. railroad, given on page 152 should read 1834 instead of 1854. To the list of important lines mentioned on page 159 should be added the Ohio & Mississippi, which in 1857 became a completed

link in a continuous line that reached from Baltimore to St. Louis, "then the longest stretch of railroad track in the world." The completion of the three lines making this route—the Baltimore & Ohio, the Marietta & Cincinnati and the Ohio & Mississippi—was the occasion of a great railroad celebration. The first train over the road was a "Celebration Train," which was filled with railroad and government dignitaries and was greeted with much bunting and noise at all the towns along the way. The event was so notable as to call forth a good-sized illustrated book descriptive of the trip, which volume can be found in the State Library. Among the immediate influences of the railroads should be mentioned the first State fair, held at Indianapolis in 1852. The convenience of transportation afforded by them made possible something larger than the local fairs that had previously existed. The 1,365 entries in this fair came from all over the State, and some of them from other States, and they presented an industrial exhibit such as the westerners had never seen before and such as was hardly possible under the old systems of transportation.

GEO. S. COTTMAN.

FIRST CANAL SURVEYS.

SINCE our article on early canals (published in September issue), we have learned from a gazetteer of 1826 that at that early date a letter of instruction had been issued from the United States Engineering Department for the survey of four canal routes in the State of Indiana, as follows: 1. To unite the waters of Lake Michigan with the Wabash river, by the way of the St. Joseph river valley. 2. The uniting of the Wabash and White rivers by way of the Mississinewa or the "Pouceanpicheax" valley. 3. The uniting of the rivers at Ft. Wayne with the Ohio river by way of the Whitewater valley. 4. A canal "to turn the Falls of the Ohio near Jeffersonville." In accordance with these instructions, the engineers, says the gazetteer, "commenced their examinations on the Whitewater route on the 8th of July, 1826." Whether anything was ever done on surveys 1 and 2 we have not learned. The letter, as indicating a canal movement at that date, adds an item to the history of the subject.

PIONEER LIFE.

BY BENJAMIN S. PARKER.

PAPER NO. IV.

Clothing of the Pioneers; the Deerskin and Its Uses; Picturesque Costumes—Home-made Fabrics: Linsey and Jeans—Dye-stuffs Used: Butternut, Walnut and Indigo—The Styles of Garments—Pioneer Finery; Ladies and Gentlemen of the Old School—The Quaker Costumes—Footwear; the Introduction of the Boot—The Surtout, Cloak and Shawl—A Traveling Outfit—Superstitions.

DEERSKIN, tanned either with or without the hair, was much in use among the early settlers of Henry county for pantaloons, hunting shirts and moccasins, as well as for gloves and mittens. It is possible that the old rollicking song of

“Leather breeches, full of stitches,
Leather breeches, buttons on,” etc.

was inspired by the old backwoods article of clothing wrought from “the red deer’s tawny skin.”

A well-tanned and well-made suit of buckskin gave the wearer a rather neat and jaunty appearance that had a very evident touch of aboriginal taste and elegance. The hunting shirt, which could be worn as an outer garment, either with or without a vest, was often made to fit closely and fasten about the waist with a belt, though sometimes it was worn without a belt. It was made more picturesque by heavy fringing around the edges made by cutting the buckskin into thin strings, and occasionally a lover of primitive finery had his shirt and moccasins ornamented with beads and brightly colored porcupine quills by Indian women. The average deerskin uniform was tanned and made by some man in the neighborhood who had some skill in that line of work. They were sewed with thongs of leather or sinews, and would, with ordinary care, last for years. Such a suit was very warm if thoroughly dry, but when wet was distressingly uncomfortable and cold. After wetting, these buckskins had a way of shrinking that was the reverse of pleasant

to the wearer as the nether garment crept upward toward his knees and the shirt contracted about his middle.* This liability to shrinkage made the washing of such a suit a difficult undertaking, but it was effected by a method of manipulation, pounding and stretching applied to the drying leather. In dry, cold weather the deerskin moccasins with warm woollen socks inside made excellent footwear for out-of-doors service, but in soft snow or wet weather they were worse than useless.

Suits similar to those of deerskin in cut and make were wrought from the brown or blue jeans, or linseys, the hunting-shirt being similarly ornamented with fringes. The dye-stuffs most used by the pioneers were from the hulls of the black or white walnuts and the inner barks of certain trees. In some parts of the State the darker browns of the black walnut prevailed, in other parts the tawny tints of the white walnut or butternut. Henry county was a black walnut province. The more aristocratic color—the color for Sunday and special occasion suits—was indigo-blue, and the woman who knew how to manage the indigo in solution so as to produce the best results was in great demand among those who aspired to handsome clothes. Prepared indigo was an article of commerce, and for sale at the village stores, but some of the settlers' wives raised their own plants and manufactured the dyes for home use. Other dyes were made from madder and copperas, maple bark and copperas, etc. These were made to alternate with the blues and browns in striping and checking the linseys. Cloths and stockings of a single color were often dyed after the weaving, but the better and surer way was to dye them in the yarn.

The early wearing apparel was, mostly, rough and coarse, and not very tastefully made. The principal requirement was to be warm in winter and as cool as possible in summer without much regard to appearance. All the boys and girls and many of the men and women went barefooted from early spring to late autumn, while the small child who was provided with a tow shirt that hung straight from the shoulders to the heels was thought to be sufficiently clad for the warmer seasons. The boys, when they

*An old-time story is to the effect that one of the early school teachers seated himself behind his desk in wet buckskins and did not rise or straighten himself out until they had dried upon him. He then found himself encased as in a suit of tin, with no provisions for joints.—*Editor*.

were put into pantaloons, had them full length, like their fathers, except that they were made several sizes too large, for the wearer was expected to grow up to them and even outgrow them before they would be worn out. But the drollest effect was produced when the boy of larger growth donned his first real "Sunday-go-to-meeting" and visiting suit. It was also of brown or blue jeans, better woven and more carefully made than his earlier pants and roundabout had been, but like them overlarge in all its parts. The trousers dragged and folded over his cowhide shoes, bagged at the knees and in the seat, and, in common with the vest, had sufficient girth for two boys, while the coat hung loose at the shoulders and elbows and was turned up at the wrists. A round-crowned, stiff-rimmed wool hat completed a picture of discomfort, self-consciousness, awkwardness and greenness. When trying to be on his best behavior for the gratification of his proud parents he was at his worst in the matter of appearance, and the joy connected with the display was when he was allowed to slip out of his fine raiment and back into his well-worn every-day togs, where he felt easy and at home. The girls suffered much in the same way, and were made old in appearance by the long skirts of their striped linsey or red flannel frocks.

The roundabout or tailless coat was to the backwoods small boy what the "warmus" or, as it was usually called, "waumus," was to the men, except that it was a much neater article of apparel. Not infrequently it was worn by men. The waumus was made with or without a belt for the waist. Usually it was made like a shirt, and it could be worn as such or over the vest and pants as a coat. The material for it was either red flannel or linsey, plain or striped. It was the lineal successor of the hunting-shirt, as the "sweater" of to-day is of the waumus, and was admirably suited to the needs of the pioneer.

The frock and habit were the chief outer garments of the women. In both, skirt and body were attached to each other, making one garment. The fastenings were hooks and eyes or ordinary brass pins for the habits and buttons for the frocks, which latter fastened at the backs. For a good while silks, worsteds, and even the better linens and cotton cloths, were scarce and high priced, but yet women of the more prosperous neighborhoods were seldom without one or more gowns of bet-

ter material than their own skill could provide. Such dresses were reserved for great occasions and were treasured with care. The home-made materials for women's wear were usually reinforced by purchases of calicoes, muslins, bobinets, and the like. All the elderly women wore caps. These were of various materials, from gaily decorated calico to bobinets and fine book muslins and cambrics. Babies also wore caps of similar material, but not all of them could afford the regulation long skirts that even then seemed almost a necessity to early juvenile existence. In the linseys and flannels of home manufacture there was much display of color, particularly of red, gray, brown and blue, and even in underwear these colors were woven in according to the fancy of the wearer. The tuck and ruffle were much in evidence for relieving the monotony of a plain raiment, and there was more or less evidence of a "fancy" taste, not only in feminine but in masculine circles. The "dude" or dandy was not unknown, and such a one arrayed in summer coat, pants and vest made of prettily figured fabrics, occasionally flashed upon backwoods society. It used to be charged, even, that the dandies of a neighboring county wore calico pantaloons with the legs profusely ruffled, but this, doubtless, was the satire of envy or disapproval.

Turning from the typical backwoodsman to the professional and the well-to-do classes that became more numerous as the country grew, we find a costuming more picturesque than that which has followed it. With this class the swallow-tail coat was as common as the straight-breasted "shad-belly" among the Quakers. This garment, made of blue fuller's cloth or broadcloth (though sometimes made of blue jeans), with trousers and vest of the same, was double-breasted and radiant with a glittering array of brass buttons, and imparted grandeur and dignity to the "gentleman of the old school." Its accompaniment was a majestic "bell-crowned" beaver hat, and a black silk stock or "choker" over stiff buckram swathed his neck, holding up his chin with painful stateliness. This "glass of fashion" was a familiar figure to our fathers.

The women of this class wore capes, mantles and shawls of various patterns and materials. The long cloak of ample folds and the large shawls were mostly in favor for the colder season.

These were, in the earlier day, made from the softer parts of the fleeces by the local spinners and weavers upon warps of flax or cotton to give the fabric greater strength. Within a few years, however, the merchants began to carry stocks of shawls of many colors, subdued or gay, that took the place of the home-made articles. These ranged in size from the neat little shoulder shawl to those that a woman could wrap herself in and defy the storm and cold. The Quaker women preferred soft, fleecy grays or browns, and a distinguishing feature of their attire was a neat shawl or cape of these colors supplemented by a neatly-folded white cambric handkerchief at the throat. There were no ruffles or flounces upon their skirts, and the figures as well as the hues were delicate and in good taste. They eschewed jewelry except, perhaps, a modest throat pin. Their bonnets for public wear were made of silk wrought upon buckram frames in the quaint fashion of the mothers of the sect in England, and in colors were soft grays for the younger women, darker grays and browns for the middle-aged and shiny black for the old. As the fashions did not change, two or three silk bonnets lasted through a lifetime. A familiar dress bonnet among women (other than Friends) was one of Leghorn straw with a flaring front-piece and a curiously-placed crown, the whole resembling an inverted coal-scuttle, decked out with brightly-colored ribbons and artificial flowers. Fashions did not change much in Henry county from year to year during the first two decades of its history, but by 1845 variations in styles and cuts began to be more frequent, and since 1850 they have kept pace with the changes in other things. The introduction of factory goods relieved not a little the absorbing tasks of the women. Before 1840 denims came in to take the place of tow and home-woven linen, and "brown Holland," a kind of finer linen, came into vogue for men's better summer suits. The boot for men and boys was introduced after the opening of the country, when muddy roads and fields made them a necessity, and they were worn almost universally for many years, or until drainage and a drier surface caused a partial reversion to shoes.

One article of apparel that seemed to belong especially to the old-time gentleman was the blue or black cloth cloak, made with or without a cape and with collars of silk velvet. They were

fastened at the throat with a large, ornamental hook and eye of bronze or silver, or with a cord, button and tassel. The body of the garment was of French broadcloth or a cloth of French weave made exclusively for cloaks. For bad or stormy weather the "surtout," or over-all-coat, was used, but for all occasions when a light, stylish upper garment was desirable the cloak was the thing. At a later date the shawl had its day as a gentleman's upper garment, but its fitness as such was never so obvious as that of the cloak or topcoat, and ere long it made its final exit.

Old-Time Travelers and Taverns.—When the old-time traveler prepared for a journey, he tallowed up his shoes until they shone, and protected his legs between the shoe-tops and the knees by wrapping green baize leggings about them, tying the same with green strings. He donned his "surtout," or cloak, or made it into a roll to be strapped tightly behind the saddle, and, if the weather demanded, substituted a coonskin cap for the customary "plug." Indispensable adjuncts to the outfit were the bulging leather saddle-bags, equivalent to the "grip" of the modern traveler. This double pouch, which lay across the saddle, could be made to hold almost anything, from a change of apparel to a box of Moffett's anti-bilious pills; from a bottle of whisky or tansy bitters for warding off ague to an extra set of horseshoes. Gentlemen always shaved themselves in those days, and the inevitable part of the outfit was a wooden shaving box with a mirror about the size of a Spanish silver dollar in the lid, and a brush of hog's bristles, together with a mottled cake of sassafras soap.

One class of early settlers always avoided the public houses, and, relying upon Hoosier hospitality, inquired by the way for the houses of members of their church or for people of repute for open-handedness known to have spare beds. Such folks would ride to the farthest corner of the State and back again with less expense than they could stay at home. Others, however, among whom were most of the lawyers, doctors, business men and the more prosperous farmers, stopped at the old-time taverns. He who entered one of these generous hostleries from the discomforts of a hard ride through mud and rain, experienced to the fullest the pleasures of tavern hospitality. He was made wel-

come to a seat beside the cheery open fire. A boy stripped off his leggings, took his great-coat and hat and bore them off to be dried. His shoes were also taken off to be brushed and blacked up, and in lieu of them a pair of "pumps" supplied, along with a glass of something warm to "take off the chill." The "pump" was a slipper minus the counter which encases the heel, into which the foot could be easily thrust, and though the heel of the pump flapped loosely on the floor with every step of the wearer, it served very well as a protection and was a comfortable substitute for the wet shoe. Every well-patronized tavern had a closetful of this cheap but convenient footwear.

Superstitions.—If a horse tangled its mane and twisted it into loops by rubbing against the stall, it was said to have been ridden by witches. Eggs that would not hatch, cream that would not churn and children that had fits were thought of as "bewitched," and some person in the neighborhood, usually an old woman, was sure to be brought under suspicion as the cause. Belief in spells and power with the evil one also prevailed with many. Negroes were often regarded as possessing mysterious powers, such as the ability to foretell the weather, tell fortunes and effect wonderful cures. The charm doctor existed, and was consulted by sufferers from all sorts of ills, both mental and physical, despite frequent and flagrant dupings. The people themselves practiced a great many spells and charms. They sold their warts or drove them away by rubbing over them notched sticks and hiding or burning the sticks. Some carried buckeyes in their pockets to keep off rheumatism, while others carried potatoes for the same purpose. If a teamster cut himself he smeared the ax or knife with tar from the spindle of his wagon. Asafetida, catnip, southernwood, chamomile and certain other herbs were supposed to ward off contagious diseases if worn about the person. A cure for epilepsy or falling sickness was to split the body of a standing shellbark hickory tree, wedging it far apart, and passing the body of the patient three times through the opening. The wedges were then knocked out, and if the parts grew together the cure was assured. Cows that were poisoned by eating buckeye leaves were jolted on the forehead with the square end of a fence rail or pole. These superstitions were common among the more ignorant in early days.

INDIANAPOLIS IN 1843—A HENRY WARD BEECHER
LETTER.

WE ARE indebted to Mr. W. H. Ragan, of Washington, D. C., for a copy of this interesting letter, which was originally published in Hovey's *Magazine of Horticulture*, of Boston, Mass. It contains information not to be found elsewhere, both as to horticulture in Indiana and conditions in Indianapolis at an early day. We have omitted an unimportant preliminary paragraph.

"In this State we have an area a little more than four times greater than Massachusetts. There are eighteen nurseries, whose proprietors are chiefly supported by their sales. Apple trees sell for ten, and pear for twenty cents. An orchard is to be found upon almost every farm, and lately the pear has been more than ever sought after. At our October fair [county fair] was exhibited the greatest variety of fruits and flowers ever exhibited in this State—perhaps I may say in the West. From fifty-five to sixty varieties of apples were shown, and forty-three new seedling apples competed for a premium. A branch of the R. I. Greening was exhibited, two feet in length, bearing fifteen apples, weighing 12 lbs. 9 oz. I send you a brief account of the fair, enclosed in some other papers. You will see a beet mentioned, weighing thirty-two lbs. You will also see three seedling apples named and recommended for cultivation—Tariff, Red Jacket, and Osceola—the first two, capital fall apples, the last supposed to be a first-rate late winter apple. Those which we have are not yet ripe (January 24), nor at all fit for eating. The number of seedling apples in this State is very great, and some of them, in the neighborhood in which they grow, are esteemed more highly by the settlers than the old standard fruits. The soil and climate so modify the flavor and other qualities of the apple that there is some reason for believing that an apple originated on any given soil, will be better than many which are introduced into it; for though the apple is raised with great facility in almost every soil, yet it is probable that each variety affects a particular one and will refuse its most perfect qualities

to all except that one. Thus, I perceive, the most popular apples of New England are natives—the R. I. Greening, Hubbardston Nonsuch, Roxbury Russett, Baldwin, Minster, etc. The choice apples of the middle States are natives of them, and to a very considerable extent this is becoming true of the West.

“The annual meeting of our society is held during the winter, that the greater number of citizens from abroad during the sessions of our courts and legislatures may be reached and interested in this subject. I shall send you the reports, address and proceedings of our winter meeting as soon as they are published. I omitted to mention that on selling the fruit last October, great competition arose for the pears, and they sold at 12½, 25 and 50 cents apiece, many of them. I obtained the only specimen of the Duchesse d’Angouleme (the first I believe which has ripened in the State) for the moderate price of 62½ cents. I am afraid I should have doubled the bid rather than have lost her ladyship; and if all duchesses are of equal worth commend me to their society. I need not say I was ‘somewhat filled’ with her company. It was not a dear bargain in the sequel, for the gentleman who raised it was so much pleased with my enthusiasm for his favorite that he presented me a tree of the same kind, and one of the *Beurre d’Aremberg*.

“You will perceive, when you obtain the report of our winter meeting, that a premium of fifty dollars is offered for seedling apples, other premiums to encourage gardens, the obtaining of choice fruit trees, introduction of hardy shrubs and flowers, etc. Our great design is to awaken in the body of the people—among farmers, artisans and men of small means—a taste for fruit and flowers, and to fill the State, from the beginning, with the most select varieties. The peach, plum, cherry, apple, pear, quince, apricot, and small fruits might search through our land and find no better soil and climate for their perfection than that of Indiana. Our variable springs are almost the only obstacle. Long summers, brilliantly clear atmosphere, great warmth, and dryness during the fall ripening months, give our fruit great size, color, and flavor. If the mass of the community take hold earnestly, amateur cultivators will spring up of themselves. As it is I remember very few gardens in Massachusetts, except near large cities, which could compare with ten or twenty in this town (Indianapolis is a town of about the size of Northampton).

"In going to Terre Haute last summer I stopped at a small, poverty-stricken little town called Mt. Meridian; shackly houses, huts and hovels, pale faces and ragged children gave no great expectation of refinements. Putting up at the best tavern (at the West, no matter how small the town, there are always from two to five or even eight taverns to choose among), I soon retired to bed as the easiest way of reaching next morning. On rising and going into the rear of the building for washing water (we are always allowed to help ourselves in such trifles), I found the well standing in the middle of a very beautiful little flower garden—neat beds full of flowers, cleaned walks, trimmed borders. I could hardly trust my eyes. From the rear of the grounds I could almost throw a stone into the primeval forests, whose fragments yet lingered in parts of the garden; and the house was itself poorer than many a barn which I have seen in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Opening a rude wicket gate, I entered a spot of nearly an acre, well laid out and filled with the choicest vegetables, growing with the most vigorous health. Currants, raspberries (white and red Antwerp), strawberries, gooseberries, were thriving, and many select varieties of pear and apple. The whole garden bore evidence of careful cultivation and good taste. Such a spot, in such a town, and behind such a house, surrounded and almost overshadowed by the forest, and produced, not by wealth, but by the personal labor of one man, poor and advanced in life, delighted me more, I do believe, than would the grounds of the London Horticultural Society. If every county in our State had one such citizen I should not fear for horticultural interests in our State. The best assortment of seeds and plants which our town will afford shall be at the service of such a cultivator the coming spring.

"You will be pleased to learn that many of the pears which have given out in New England do well as yet with us. The St. Michael (or fall butter, as it is called here), thrives and bears excellently well, though Kenrick, following Fessenden, says that in New England it is 'an outcast, intolerable even to the sight.' The specimens at our fall fair could hardly be surpassed.

"A number of public-spirited gentlemen have associated, to plant all the private streets in this town with shade trees. We shall select from the ample stock of our own forests, mostly.

But it is proposed to put in a number of pear and plum trees--the first being a beautiful shaped tree as well as fruitful, and the plum, it is thought, will be free from the curculio, planted upon a highway. In the three squares upon which stand the State House, Court House, and Governor's House, it is proposed to gather and plant a specimen of all our forest trees.

"This reminds me of an incident in our early town history related to me by one of the first settlers. A large circle of nearly four acres was reserved in the center of the town and the native trees, sugar maples, left standing upon it. Under these trees, before churches were built, religious meetings were held in summer, and the prospect was that our town would have an adornment of this little grove which no architecture can bestow. One morning, however, he was attracted thither by the sound of an axe, and found one of the leading lawyers of the place exercising himself, as a preparation for breakfast, in felling one of the largest trees. It was too far cut to be saved. And so good an example could not be lost upon others. One by one these magnificent trees disappeared. Now we have a huge yellow brick building in the center of this circle; about a dozen locusts, with stems half as large as one's wrist, have for the three last years been struggling for life until they seem weary and faint, and so stand still.

"The Court House Square, something larger than the former piece of ground, was covered with a noble growth of stately trees, and it was determined to save them. A man was set, however, to thin out the plat, and being left to his own discretion, he felled all the younger trees and left the very old and tall ones standing. As might have been expected, the first wind, finding an easy passage through, uprooted a multitude of trees, and the citizens, to save the rest from a like fate, chopped them down instantly, and happily relieved this square, too, from unpleasant shade. All is not yet told. At a later day a number of gentlemen procured an order (if I mistake not) from the county commissioners to plant out the ground with shade trees, and a large number of the locust was set. However, that nothing might break in upon the practice of the county, the jailer's cow was permitted to pasture upon the plat, and in sight of the citizens she proceeded patiently to bark the trees or break

them down, until not a single one was left. A gentleman not without a taste for horticulture, from day to day, saw, from his office door, this destruction, as he informed me with great *naïvete*, as though it were a sin to interfere and save the trees. Thus, in all our towns, comes first, extermination; then come scorching summer suns, and too late the wish that the trees had been spared; and at last planting begins, and we who live amid the immense forests of a new country—on whose town plat, not fifteen years ago, grew immense oaks, maples, sycamores, beeches, tulip trees and elms—are planting the short lived locusts (*Robinia pseudo-acacia*) to obtain a speedy shade! I can think of but three forest trees now standing in this town within a space one mile square—two elms and one buckeye. The same scenes are enacting in every town which springs up at the West. We are gaining meadows, and corn bottoms, and green hillsides, and town plats, by an utter extermination of the forest. Here and there an Indian may be found lingering around the old possessions of his nation, as if to mourn their loss, and to remind us of his ancestors; but of the forest, it is almost true that not a single tree is left to recall to our minds the glory of its fellows. Indeed, I have thought that those who were obliged to clear farms or timber land, imbibe the same feelings toward trees which the pioneers have toward the Indians—as things to be destroyed, of course. This devastation of our forests the political economist regards as a blunder, and says it is an unthrifty practice, but one who looks upon trees almost as if they had souls, witnesses this needless extermination with some feelings which can not be expressed in the pound and penny language of the mere economist. I think it is Michaux who pronounces the full-grown elm to be the most magnificent production of the vegetable kingdom. Is not an old, and tall, and broad, and healthy tree nobler to the eye than any temple or cathedral? The wonder of a century's growth ends in an hour by some man who never for one single moment thinks of the majesty or beauty of his victim—who only thinks how soonest to get it down, and burned up, and out of the way of the plough.

“Respectfully yours,

“H. W. BEECHER.

“Indianapolis, Indiana, January, 1843.”

SOUTHERN INDIANA IN 1819.

AN EXCURSION INTO THE NEW PURCHASE.

From the Madison Indiana Republican, February 27, 1819.

VERNON, Feb'y 16, 1819.

GENTLEMEN:—Capt. Campbell and myself have just returned from an excursion made into the Delaware lands, and should you consider the following sketch worth an insertion in your paper for the amusement of your readers, and the information of emigrants and persons wishing to explore these lands, it will gratify some of your readers.

We travelled the new cut road from this place to Geneva (on Sandy), a new town laid out on the old Indian boundary line, about eight miles from this place in a N. W. direction. We then took a new cut road (opened to Flat Rock sufficient for waggons), which bears nearly N 45 W. The first stream we crossed after leaving Person's mill on Sandy, is called little Sandy; the second, Leatherwood; the third, Fallen Timber Creek (all appropriate names). We next passed a remarkable beaver dam, in which the ingenuity of these animals is wonderfully exhibited. The 4th stream is Flat creek, the 5th Deer creek, the 6th Crooked creek; all of which streams will answer for light machinery, and run to the S. W., the bottoms generally gravelly and water very clear. We next came to a stream by the name of Clifty, sufficient for any kind of water works, and about ten miles distant in the new purchase. I think, without exaggeration, that every quarter section that may be laid out in this ten miles, will be fit for cultivation and will be settled. The lands are of a black, sandy quality, timbered with black ash and beech principally. The general face of the country is rather inclined to a plain, with the hollows rather wet. The lands on Clifty are very rich and well timbered on both sides of the stream with blue ash, walnut, sugar tree, honey locust, beech, &c.

After crossing this stream we came to a most beautiful walnut ridge, about one and a half miles north of Clifty. We next

crossed Middle creek, then Grassy creek, then Tough creek, Stillwater and Pleasant Run, all of which are small mill streams running to the S. W., some of which have very muddy bottoms, and lie between Clifty and Flat Rock at the distance of seven miles. In this seven miles the lands are principally very rich and level, the valleys rather wet, and timbered principally with oak, black ash, walnut, sugar tree, poplar, hickory, &c, until we came to the lands immediately on Flat Rock. These lands exhibit a scenery I never expected to see in Indiana. They resemble the rich lands on the two Elkhorns in Kentucky, for richness and timber, and to appearance, abound on both sides of the stream, which has a gravel bottom and is about 80 yards wide. On the north side of this creek we found only one stream (Sugar creek) until we arrived at Driftwood [Blue river], about eight miles in a S. W. direction from where we crossed Flat Rock. The lands between these two streams are level and very dry, timbered with white oak, black oak, walnut, honey locust, underbrush, spice wood, dog wood and hazel. We found beautiful rich and level lands on both sides of Driftwood, and well timbered. The river (by counting our horses' steps) was 180 yards wide where we crossed it. I think, there are very few springs in this country, but believe water may be had with very little labor. To sum up my views on the subject, I am of the opinion that if Jefferson County would make a good highway in the direction to this place, that Madison would be the key on the Ohio river to one of the best tracts of country I have seen in this State; and a delay will speedily bring forward some other point as the country is now settling. We met two families and teams on the road to this Eden.

Yours With Esteem,

JOHN VAWTER.

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION OF 1851.

The "practical printers" of Madison formed themselves into a "typographical society" August 30, 1851.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Published at Indianapolis, Indiana

GEORGE S. COTTMAN, *Editor and Publisher*

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

OHIO VALLEY HISTORY CONFERENCE.

Of the Central Ohio Valley History Conference, which held its first meeting at Cincinnati, November 29 and 30, Mr. Frank P. Goodwin, the secretary, writes: "We had a very profitable meeting, and I feel sure that the cause of local history in the Ohio valley has been materially advanced. A committee will prepare a program for the second meeting to be held at some place to be selected a year from now, and at that time they will report a plan of permanent organization. The committee consists of I. J. Cox, University of Cincinnati, chairman; C. L. Martzloff, Ohio University, secretary; S. B. Harding, Indiana University; W. W. Longmoor, curator of Kentucky State Historical Society; Harry B. Mackory, Filson Club and numerous patriotic societies; Virgil A. Lewis, State Historian for West Virginia; E. C. Randall, secretary of Ohio Archæological and Historical Society; A. B. Hulbert, Marietta College, and F. P. Goodwin."

INDIANA UNIVERSITY HISTORY CLUB—A NEW STATE BUILDING.

Indiana University has a history club that is, we believe, more actively interested in the question of local history than any other college club or class in the State. Under its stimulus considerable research work has been done, some of the students having written themes along this line. Through the newspaper columns we occasionally hear of the club's alertness in local matters. At a recent meeting it took time by the forelock and began the agitation of two live questions that will probably require considerable stirring before there are material results. These are, an Indiana Centennial celebration in 1916, and the erection of a building at Indianapolis in which "all the historical documents obtainable relating to the State should be placed." This latter question, in our opinion, is one of special importance. It is only a question of time till the State must

have a building of the kind suggested, and the need, indeed, is already pressing for new quarters, such as Wisconsin, Iowa and some other States have provided themselves with. The State House is now overcrowded; the State Library is growing beyond its present space; the State Museum presents and for some time has presented a case of arrested growth, and Mr. Blatchley has repeatedly been obliged to decline articles for the collection for lack of space for them; the Indiana Historical Society, which long had its room in the capitol, is now turned out of house and home, without a place other than private offices for its meetings, and with its collection partly boxed and partly in charge of the State Library. The need is for a building that shall house these, along with the Library Commission, the Academy of Science, and kindred interests, and it behooves all those who think so to get together and give what aid they can to Librarian D. C. Brown, who has already entered on the campaign.

THE HARRISON FARM NEAR CORYDON.

What is known as the Harrison place, six miles northwest of Corydon, was once, according to local tradition, the holding of William Henry Harrison. Mr. Hubbard M. Smith, the historian of Vincennes, writes to us upon that point. He thinks that General Harrison has probably been confused with Christopher Harrison. General Harrison, he points out, had his residence at Vincennes from 1801 till 1812, when he was appointed commander of the Northwest Territory, with headquarters in Ohio, and never again resided in Indiana. Christopher Harrison, on the other hand, who was elected Lieutenant-Governor in 1816, resided, presumably, at or near Corydon, and his ownership of the farm in question was quite probable. This seems plausible, but it illustrates the dangers of reasoning from probabilities on obscure historical points. D. F. Lemon, in his little pamphlet on Corydon, states that General William Henry Harrison, "bought of the general government, in an early day, all of section 19, township 3, south of range 3 east; also a part of section 30, township 3, south of range 3 east. This land is all in one body and contains 829.20 acres." Mr. Lemon further says: "The records in the recorder's office of Harrison county show that William Henry Harrison and his wife Anna, on the 6th day of July,

1817, deeded the land mentioned to Joshua Wilson and Abijah Bayless for the consideration of ten thousand dollars." It is not improbable, indeed, that General Harrison may have owned and improved land near Corydon and yet never have resided there.

REVOLUTIONARY GRAVES.

Names of Revolutionary soldiers buried in Indiana that have come to our knowledge since our last issue are as follow:

Rev. Jesse Vawter, of Jefferson county. Buried in the graveyard at Wirt, a few miles northwest of Madison. Died March 20, 1838, aged 82 years. Alexander C. Chambers. Ebenezer churchyard, one mile south of Kent, Jefferson county. Joel Bishop, of New Jersey. Graveyard at Canaan, Jefferson county. Died 1847. George Blake, Pisgah graveyard, Graham township, Jefferson county. Samuel Walch. Accidentally killed in the forties. Buried at Madison. James George, died near Southport, Marion county, perhaps sixty years ago. Buried at Round Hill graveyard on "Three-notch" road, about five miles south of Indianapolis. Authority, Harley Richardson, of Southport. Suel Gilbert, died November, 1843. Buried at Muncie. Authority, the *Delaware County Democrat*. Charles DePauw, died August 31, 1814. Buried in cemetery at Salem, Washington county. Stone gives his Revolutionary record.

Authority for the first five is material in possession of Miss Drusilla L. Cravens, of Madison. From this source, also, we get this interesting scrap concerning pensioners. It is from a journal of George Fitzhugh, covering the period 1838-1843:

"Have had several Revolutioners here [at Madison] for their pensions. One named Johnson, 82 years old, fought under Greene in North Carolina. A recent reform(?) has made it necessary for these poor creatures to assemble at one point in the State. Some get \$80 a year, paid semi-annually; some \$20. One poor cripple came 100 miles and received but \$10."

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